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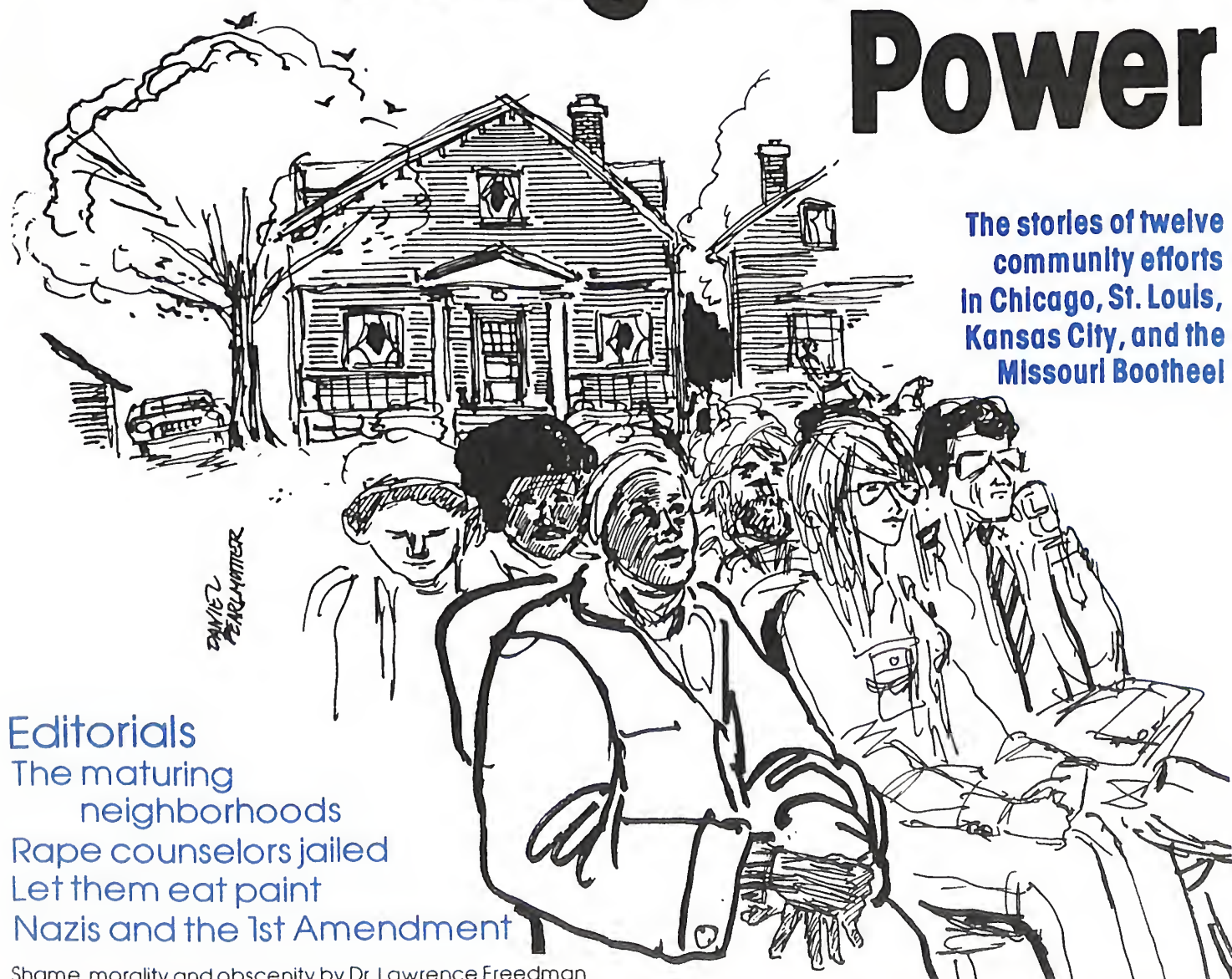
FOCUS

MIDWEST

A MAGAZINE SENSITIVE TO THE REALITIES IN OUR SOCIETY

Neighborhood Power

The stories of twelve
community efforts
in Chicago, St. Louis,
Kansas City, and the
Missouri Bootheel



Editorials

The maturing
neighborhoods

Rape counselors jailed

Let them eat paint

Nazis and the 1st Amendment

Shame, morality and obscenity by Dr. Lawrence Freedman

OUT OF FOCUS

(Readers are invited to submit items for publication, indicating whether the sender can be identified. Items must be fully documented and not require any comment.)

THE NEW DAY is published by the Human Development Corporation of St. Louis to publicize, according to its masthead, "the problems and conditions of poverty and to emphasize some of the ways and means these problems can be solved." In an editorial comment in the July 1977 issue, the editors regret that "so few of us really know how minimal are the profits of most corporations" and that Exxon profits are only 5 to 6%. They also feel sorry for the "Fortune 500" because readers may "conclude that huge profits are reaped at the expense of the consumer. In a dig at nationalized health insurance, they chastise "socialist countries where you may have to wait a year for a much needed operation because of socialized health care. Appreciate the benefits of free enterprise." We are sure that the poor do. We wonder, who on the board of directors of the HDC ghosted this editorial?

It's Official! But no surprise. A United States Senate committee says that business interests "almost totally" dominate federal regulatory agencies. The Senate Governmental Affairs Committee, as part of a two year study, found the regulatory agencies to be overwhelmingly dominated by the section of industry to be regulated. To correct the situation, the committee recommended creation of an independent consumer agency and public funding of citizen groups. The latter proposal was rejected by the Senate Judiciary Committee.

The Activist

The trial of John Kearney, now retired from the FBI, is opening this month (October) in New York City. Kearney supervised mail openings, wiretaps and break-ins during the FBI search for members of the Weather underground. Tremendous pressure has been unleashed on behalf of Kearney, with letters to Attorney General Bell running 100:1. Bowing to that pressure, Bell announced that John Morley, Kearney's supervisor, will not be prosecuted even though the case of official illegal activities has not yet been decided in court. Groups soliciting funds to pay for Kearney's legal fees have collected a reported \$480,000. The Security and Intelligence Fund, which sent out some 100,000 letters on Kearney's suit, announced that their funds will be used to establish a permanent group to campaign for strong intelligence agencies.

Reported in Organizing Notes (Campaign to Stop Government Spying)

The Missouri Department of Conservation reports that new sewage treatment plants in Mexico, Milan, Marshall and Lebanon have begun to clean up some of the pollution in nearby streams. However, Missouri still has nearly 1000 miles of streams that are polluted, according to the Department. Sewage affects 651 miles, mining contamination 206 miles, industry 147 miles and agricultural businesses 157 miles. Some streams are polluted by more than one source.

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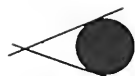
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OUT OF FOCUS	2
EDITORIALS / The maturing of neighborhoods / Rape counselors jailed / Nazis and the 1st Amendment / Let them eat paint	4
MISSOURI POLITICS	7
ILLINOIS POLITICS	7
COMING INTO FOCUS	8
LETTERS	9
NEIGHBORHOOD POWER / INTRODUCTION <i>Judy Stevens and Dick Simpson</i>	10
THE NEIGHBORHOOD MOVEMENT IN AMERICA AND NAN <i>Milton Kotler</i>	12
THE PEOPLE DECIDE IN THE 44TH WARD <i>Greta Salem and Sanna Hans</i>	14
INVOLVING ALL CITIZENS: NEIGHBORHOOD COUNCILS IN INDEPENDENCE, MISSOURI <i>Doris Quinn</i>	16
JEFF-VANDER-LOU: AGAINST ALL ODDS <i>Michael Watson</i>	18
TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF SUCCESSFUL ORGANIZING: THE LAKE VIEW CITIZEN'S COUNCIL <i>Miriam B. Rodin</i>	26
ORGANIZING THE LAKE VIEW LATIN AMERICAN COMMUNITY <i>Jose L. Gutierrez-Vargas</i>	29
RURAL ORGANIZING IN THE MISSOURI BOOTHEEL <i>Larry Levine</i>	32
BLUE HILLS HOMES	35
TWO TARGET: THE TOTAL COMMUNITY <i>Leon Finney, Jr.</i>	36
TWO APPROACHES TO EDUCATION: THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCE CENTER AND THE LAKEVIEW SCHOOLS COALITION	38
THE INDEPENDENT PRECINCT ORGANIZATION AND CITIZEN POWER IN ELECTIONS <i>Betty Schwarz</i>	40
THEORETICAL FOUNDATION FOR THE NEIGHBORHOOD MOVEMENT: A REVIEW OF THREE BOOKS <i>Dick Simpson</i>	43
SHAME, MORALITY AND OBSCENITY <i>Lawrence Freedman</i>	46
THE RIGHT / Anti-Panama Pact Coalition Effective / AAUCG Attacks Labor / Fundraisers - For Whom?	48
POEMS	
Time Table / <i>Ernest Kroll</i>	9
To My Father / <i>John McKernan</i>	22
Vennishay: No Such Word / <i>Sylvia Wheeler</i>	25

The maturing of neighborhoods

The phenomenon of neighborhood consciousness appears to couple traditional elements with the more recent social activism employed by many interests. Traditionally, ethnic, racial, and above all, economic characteristics have divided American cities into enclaves of one or another population group. If more people wanted to move in than out, the neighborhood was desirable. If the reverse situation persisted, the neighborhood became "undesirable."

A few residents in some of the neighborhoods — who did not want to move or live in an "undesirable" neighborhood — began to search for the causes which had changed their community so that residents were moving out. They discovered a host of factors, private and public, which were responsible for the deterioration and decline of their neighborhoods.

The remedies sought are as multifaceted as the people involved. What stands out in all cases, however, is the intense desire to improve conditions. This common bond emerges as the key ingredient. Of course, funds, planning, a favorable political climate, and similar aspects favoring social change are required. But it is possible to affect neighborhood change while one or two of these aspects are lacking; however, if the dedication and nearly sacrificial devotion of area leaders and residents is absent, all the funds and plans will be for naught.

Building upon the traditional loyalty of neighborhoods, the sixties added the spark of social activism: change for the better through democratic means at the local level. And it is working.

For example, not too long ago a few people met in St. Louis to devise strategies in support of a redlining bill before the Missouri General Assembly. Today, the Missouri Housing Alliance is a loosely knit coalition and communications network of about 40 neighborhood and community groups, predominantly from the St. Louis and Kansas City areas, and approximately 800 individuals.

If the ground is fertile, the call to action by one or more "leaders," the trigger effect of federal funds, the uncalled for abuse of a citizen, or whatever may stir up the self-consciousness of a neighborhood, will result in collective community action. But a totally hopeless community, a community burdened with a political, self-serving leadership such as in East St. Louis, Illinois, where the citizen is shut out from the decision-making process, will continue to rot. Cities and neighborhoods, such as East St. Louis, will have to experience first a genuine grassroots movement demanding change before the established social and political powers will accommodate themselves to share the available resources. Since the status quo is profitable, these powers see no need to split the pie in

finer slices.

A review of the growth of neighborhood groups in this issue proves the above assumptions. The articles also indicate the drift of the neighborhood movement. In five, ten, or fifteen years, political parties both on the local and national level may have to contend with rival, non-partisan structures which will demand answers to issues and further dilute the strength of the established parties. Support will cross party lines and should the political candidates fail to respond to neighborhood demands, national neighborhood coalitions will run their own candidates for office.

The spirit of the sixties may be dead on the campuses, the fervor of ten years ago may have departed from the array of political and social groupings which made life exciting for a while, but the spirit and the fervor has been inherited by groups which stayed far away, if not opposed, the agitation of the sixties. American society is moving on, indeed.

Our thanks go to Dick Simpson, associate professor of political science at the University of Illinois Chicago Circle Campus and alderman of Chicago's 44th Ward, and to his legislative aide, Judy Stevens, who guest edited this issue. Their energy is reflected in the broad range of organizations covered. With thousands of such groups already in existence, *FOCUS/Midwest* could only include the life histories of a few. The editors took care to include examples of neighborhood governments, community organizations, and service organizations.

We dedicate this issue to the growing involvement of the National Association of Neighborhoods — meeting this month in Chicago — in the reconstruction of our country.

Rape counselors jailed

Quash, the newsletter of the Grand Jury Project which seeks to end abuses inherent in the existing grand jury system, reports in its last issue that two counselors at "Women Against Rape" were jailed in Champaign, Illinois, for refusing to give police information about an unreported rape case. The counselors refused to reveal information without the consent of the client. The police responded with a grand jury subpoena. After Kathy McCabe and Judy Kalb refused to answer questions put to them by the state grand jury, a contempt hearing was held and the two were sent to the county jail. Five hours later their client signed a release allowing them to answer questions. The two women agreed then to testify and were released.

The article cites the use of the grand jury, the threat of federal and local contempt laws as a tool in probing into confidential relationships.

The abuse of the grand jury system by federal and state government agencies will hasten the day when a concerted national effort will amend if not abolish the system.

Nazis and the 1st Amendment

Several thousand members have quit the American Civil Liberties Union because of its defense of Nazis who would like to hold demonstrations in the heavily Jewish suburb of Skokie, Illinois. So far the marches have not been held and the case is now winding its way through the courts.

Except for one complication, the issue would be a simple one for civil libertarians: of course, every citizen, including Nazis and Communists, have a constitutional right to speak, march, and demonstrate.

The complication is the thousands of Jewish refugees from Europe, some quite elderly, who would look upon such demonstrations as the arrival of Nazism in America, and possible even as an immediate and personal threat to them and their families. The subtleties of American culture, the incongruity of Nazism gaining power, the very affirmation of democracy in permitting a parade, are largely lost on many survivors of concentration camps. Marching Nazis represent a reenactment of doomsday with traumatic and possibly harmful effects on many Skokie residents. To them the threat is not symbolic, but real.

Another confrontation is developing in Florissant, Missouri, the largest municipality in St. Louis County. Unlike Skokie, few Jews live in Florissant. A Nazi request for a rally in the Florissant Civic Center was barred by the City Council. The Nazis were told that rallies by all groups are barred at the Center because they interfere with normal activities. Indeed, a Nazi decision to picket city hall resulted in a free-for-all with counter pickets.

It is difficult, if not impossible, for Americans, even Jewish Americans, to fully comprehend the traumatic impact of the Nazi swastika, the Nazi uniform, and the goose-step marching of brownshirts in close formation upon refugees from Europe. It is akin to feeling a murderous hand at the throat, to remembering the 6 a.m. knock at the door to arrest husbands and fathers during the late thirties and entire families in the forties, the bitterness of families torn apart forever, the loss of nearly all one's relatives. It recreates a world crumbling. To the victims of Nazism, the insistence on the right of Nazis to speak and assemble freely appears to make a mockery of untold suffering, of wasted lives, of destroyed hopes.

Indeed, the display of Nazi symbols, so it is claimed, is more like the unjustified cry of "Fire!" in a crowded theater, than the practice of simple speech. Just like the alarm of "Fire!" may cause a panic and imperil the crowd, so the marching Nazis would cause anguish, emotional trauma, if not worse among many of the citizens of Skokie. It is not free speech at all which is opposed, argues one side, but the spectre of latent violence and direct harm.

Yet, we can see no alternative but to support the right of the Nazis to march. We cannot offer a protective device to the many Skokie residents except the knowledge that dissent must be permitted so that their children can grow up in a democracy strongly committed to egalitarian law and not in a nation without a fundamental law as was the case in Germany.

Physical attacks upon opposing political organizations were a priority of German Nazis long before Hitler came to power. Some public and legal actions can be as intimidating as physical attacks. To fight Nazism — or the many other aberrations in our society — we must not use the tools of totalitarianism, but we must defeat them in the traditional market place of ideas. Not suppression, physical or legal, but exposure to common sense will destroy their ideology. History has shown that social organisms grow in strength when under attack. Indeed, the survival of the Jewish people bears partial witness to this truism. Let us not innocently strengthen the Nazi movement but eradicate it from the minds of men by fervently upholding the very democratic values the Nazis wish us to abandon.

Let them eat paint

A depressing report on the status of lead poisoning among St. Louis children appears in the September-October issue of *Community Medicine* published by the Department of Community Medicine, St. Louis University School of Medicine.

St. Louis reports a greater number of children with the highest blood lead levels than any other city in the country, although Chicago and New York screen roughly five and seven times more children, respectively.

"A tragic and frustrating aspect concerning these numbers is that childhood lead poisoning is primarily the result of social, economic and political factors, not medical or health care deficiencies. Most importantly, it is a disease that is totally preventable through community action," states *Community Medicine*.

Following the lead of freshmen medical students who initiated the first systematic lead poisoning casefinding program, a metropolitan conference was held in 1971. Governmental, educational, and social activist groups followed up on the conference with a wide range of programs including the opening of the first private lead poisoning clinic at Cardinal Glennon Memorial Hospital.

Pressure on landlords, however, was minimal. Court fines for failing to abide by housing codes averaged less than \$100 — less than the cost of detoxification of housing units. By 1976, the City detoxified fewer than 100 units.

The U.S. Center for Disease Control re-

EDITORIALS

ported that in 1976 1,458 cases of children with highest lead levels were discovered in St. Louis (14.0% of all tested), Chicago had 1,099 cases (4%), New York 1,211 cases (1.8%), Boston 909 cases (4%), Baltimore 316 cases (1.6%), and nationally 10,755 cases (2.8%) were diagnosed.

In its article, *Community News* highlights the threat of lead poisoning. It declares:

The primary cause of *clinical* childhood poisoning . . . is lead based paint found on interior and exterior surfaces of homes constructed before 1950 . . . In the City of St. Louis alone, there are an estimated 240,000 pre-1950 dwellings, of which more than 50,000 are estimated to be in deteriorating or dilapidated condition.

Ingestion of leaded paint from toys and pencils, and drinking liquids . . . from improperly glazed pottery continue to produce sporadic cases of lead poisoning, but inhalation of atmospheric lead . . . is increasingly being recognized as a very significant . . . threat. Recent studies suggest that children with a moderate increase in body burden of lead (via inhalation), although clinically asymptomatic, experience serious interference with important body processes. . . According to a number of authorities, over 100,000 children annually across the nation may be suffering minimal brain dysfunction and other subtle abnormalities as a result of lead sources which *could be entirely removed* . . .

Virtually nothing is done in a . . . preventive sense and the City budget appropriations for the existing program have remained roughly constant (actually decreasing, when considering inflation) at something above the meager sum of \$200,000 annually for the last 3 years. In addition the City will spend for 1977-78 about \$110,000 of federal community development funds and about \$313,000 from an H.E.W. grant for lead poisoning. Therefore the total effort by St. Louis for '77-'78 will involve about \$655,000 of which only \$105,000 will be for prevention and detoxification of 100 housing units.

Community News reports that each case of lead poisoning costs more than \$1,000 in the average. Since 12,000 to 16,000 are treated each year (355 estimated in St. Louis in 1976), it involves a national health cost of \$12 to \$16 million. But what cost can one assign to the 200 children who die each year of lead poisoning and the several hundred thousand children per year who are permanently damaged?

Lead poisoning, it must be remembered, is a totally and easily preventable disease.

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Gov. Joseph P. Teasdale's two major promises when he ran for governor last year were changes in the state's utilities and an increase in state corporation taxes.

The issues were popular with the voters, who gave him an upset victory over Republican Gov. Christopher S. Bond, but they did not go over with the legislature.

Teasdale presented a package of utility reform proposals shortly after taking office, and also came up with a corporate income tax plan. But even though both houses of the legislature were overwhelmingly Democratic, there was no enthusiastic response to Teasdale's ideas.

Teasdale had run as a newcomer, outside the state's political tradition, who had never served in Missouri statewide office or the legislature. By his own admission, the governor had difficulty this year in getting his bearings and adjusting to his new role as administrator of the state government and negotiator with the legislature. The lobbying efforts of the utilities and corporations were utilized effectively against him in a situation where the governor was not well organized.

Teasdale and the legislature also became involved with an issue which had been discussed for years—the site for a new state prison. Original plans provided for a new prison in rural southern Missouri, but many complained that was too far from the homes of most prisoners, who come predominantly from Missouri's urban areas around St. Louis and Kansas City.

But most proposals for locating the new prison near those cities ran up against objections from residents and their legislators. Finally, in a special August session, the legislature settled on a site near St. Louis, along with funding for improvements in other state prison facilities.

For the sixth consecutive year, the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) was killed in the Missouri Legislature. In past years, the house acted favorably on the amendment but the senate

failed to approve it. This year, proponents decided to concentrate on the senate, hoping to get it through there first, then relying on the house to give its approval once again. But the senate remained as obdurate as ever, turning down ERA once again.

As in other states, reinstitution of the death penalty had wide backing, and was easily passed. Missouri's previous statute was found unconstitutional, but there was little hesitation in enacting a statute thought to conform with constitutional requirements.

In a move in a libertarian direction, public drunkenness was decriminalized. Now, persons may be held over or sent to a hospital, but incidents will no longer involve criminal charges.

What's Up in '78

Politics will be quiet in Missouri next year, following a wild 1976 in which the state elected a new governor and a new U.S. senator, and replaced five U.S. House members, all of whom retired.

Republicans had hoped to take advantage of those vacancies to stage a resurgence, but they accomplished little. They won a Senate seat with John C. Danforth, but lost the governorship—which they had won in 1972—and picked up only one of the five open House seats.

In 1978 the Republicans will not have so many targets to shoot at. With no governorship or Senate election, they can try to defeat some of the new Democratic House members before seniority gives them an even greater advantage. The top Republican target will probably be the 2nd District, in the St. Louis suburbs, which narrowly went Democratic in 1976.

The more things change, the more they remain the same. In St. Louis County, liberal reformers have fought for the past ten years to diminish patronage. When Christopher S. Bond, a Republican, was elected Governor, Missouri Department of Revenue fee offices were originally promised to worthwhile organizations. The offices issue license plates, driver's licenses and automobile titles with the agent collecting a 60-cent fee on each transaction. The annual take goes into the tens of thousands of dollars. Bond never made good on this promise although a few offices went to civic organizations. Under Democratic Governor Joseph P. Teasdale, who defeated Bond, the tables are turned again. The Democratic committeeman of Lemay Township and the wife of the committeeman of Creve Coeur Township have recently been appointed to operate offices. The Creve Coeur Township appointment is particularly ironic because

the Township is a hotbed, some say the only one, of whatever liberalism is left in the County. Along with likeminded organizations, the local New Democratic Coalition had difficulty finding issues to enthuse their members. Governor Teasdale may have given them one.



Relative peace has come to Illinois politics in 1977, with first-term Republican Gov. James R. Thompson scaling down his immediate legislative goals and avoiding confrontations with the Democratic legislature.

Thompson is in an unusual position. He is serving Illinois' first and only two-year term, made necessary by a decision to hold gubernatorial elections in nonpresidential election years. With a campaign for reelection coming up so soon, Thompson decided against using the first few months to make dramatic legislative initiatives or to kindle partisan feeling.

His first political objective was to avoid a tax increase. There has been none since the state income tax was enacted in 1969, and Thompson pledged that taxes would not go up during his two-year term.

That pledge has been kept, but it has left the state relatively little money for bold new programs of the kind many observers expected when Thompson took over. The governor did recommend a special gasoline tax to finance road improvements throughout the state, but dropped the idea after finding little support for it in the legislature.

The most controversial legislation of the year has been Thompson's crime proposal, which calls for mandatory minimum sentences of six years, without parole, for most violent crimes. It also would impose mandatory life sentences after the third conviction for those crimes.

Thompson's sentencing plan passed the Illinois Senate, but died in the house in June, largely because of a parliamentary obstacle set up by Democratic Speaker William A. Redmond. The legislature is likely to meet



Coming into focus

The Illinois Coalition (for national health insurance) is planning a Consumers' Hearing on Health Care in Illinois, October 22, at the University of Chicago's Center for Continuing Education. The focus will be on consumers in Health Systems Agencies (HSAs) and the Illinois State Health Coordinating Council. The Illinois Coalition is also organizing to prevent an action by the Illinois State Department of Health which would allegedly reduce the size of the State Health Coordinating Committee (SHCC) from 56 to 37 and the number of consumers from 60% to the legally required 51%.

Coalitions to Stop Government Spying have been formed in many cities and are being supported by 68 national organizations. In St. Louis, the coalition is encouraging local people to request files from the FBI and other agencies in an effort to determine the scope of national intelligence activities in St. Louis, urges Rev. Bill Stickney (438 N. Skinker, St. Louis, Missouri 63130, 862-5770). The Alliance To End Repression in Chicago has filed a class action suit, and there is a city ordinance pending which has had neither a public hearing nor endorsement by the Democratic party. Its chances are questionable. A similar bill introduced in the Illinois legislature failed passage.

In what was described by a Ralph Nader spokesperson as a pivotal part of the national grassroots effort, the Missouri and Illinois area coalitions are urging consumers to shower seven Congressmen with "nickel-letters" in support of the proposed federal **Agency for Consumer Protection**. Missouri targets for the national campaign are Congressmen Gephardt (D-3), Volkmer (D-9), Burlison (D-10), Coleman (R-6), and Skelton (D-4); the Illinois targets are Congressmen Morgan Murphy (2nd District) and John Anderson (16th District).

When New York passed the 1976 Drug Law with its mandatory penalties, supporters of law and order expected a reduction in crime and a vindication of their approach to law enforcement. After millions of dollars were spent and adding 31 judges to carry out the toughest drug law in the country, fewer cases were disposed of between 1974 and 1976 than during a similar period under old laws. A comprehensive study by the Drug Abuse Council and the New York Bar Association also concluded that there was

no change in the use of heroin, that the rate of property crime remained similar to other states, that drug traffickers did not see the new law as a serious threat, and the risk of imprisonment for a second-felony offender was lower after the 1973 revision than before the tougher laws were enacted.

The Atlantic Richfield Company recently published the second edition of its social responsibility audit, Participation II, "an assessment of company activities that benefit American society."

Even if we discount the public relations' aspects of this report, the company deserves credit for cataloguing its involvement of community service programs and other contributions. The Report even includes an independent commentary by Milton Moscovitz, an authority in the field of business-society relationships.

A company with sales of \$8.9 billion in 1976 and \$575 million in profits (it netted \$1.4 billion after taxes over the past three years), can easily afford such a report as well as an independent appraisal. However, it is not the moneys spent we applaud but the spirit displayed which permitted it to include these comments in the Moscovitz report: "ARCO has done little to educate its customers on energy conservation... the result (of financing changes) has been a shifting of financial benefit from the nation's labor force to the investment community... ARCO is an intruder in Easter Wyoming, debasing open land with surface coal mine, railroad spurs... ARCO's charitable contributions remain well below... standards... The company has resisted tanker safety features... management remains virtually all-white... ARCO has refused to use its leverage to promote nondiscrimination..."

These quotes are from the "Liabilities" sides and ignore the "Assets." How many companies are there which have the grace to publicize their shortcomings?

Chicago's South Shore community, once a fashionable, all-white area, began deteriorating in the 1960s. Now, though radically changed in racial and economic composition, it is making a comeback, and two projects that recently received Foundation assistance are helping in that process.

One involves the South Shore National Bank, which in the worst years of the community's decline sought to abandon the neighborhood, leaving its 80,000 residents without any handy banking services. The other is an experiment in delivery of low-cost legal services to the community's residents, most of whom are neither wealthy enough to afford attorneys' fees nor poor enough to qualify for subsidized legal aid.

The South Shore bank, now owned by a limited-profit neighborhood development corporation, received a commitment from the Foundation for a stock purchase of \$600,000. The investment, to be paid back over ten years at 6 per cent, will enable the

bank to undertake more community development projects. These include rehabilitation of four absentee-owned rental buildings and revitalization of a shopping street.

When the South Shore, which stretches for a mile along Lake Michigan, began deteriorating, the bank's deposits dropped sharply. Its new owners, the Illinois Neighborhood Development Corporation, which bought the bank in 1973 with the help of stock purchases from the Ford, Wieboldt, and Stern Foundations and two church groups, helped make the bank a buttress against further deterioration. The flow of deposits has increased again. They rose 22 per cent last year alone and now stand at some \$50 million. The bank's community projects include a development corporation that provides low-interest, long-term funding for commercial rehabilitation in the neighborhood.

The South Shore legal experiment, conducted by the Fund for Justice in conjunction with the Chicago Council for Lawyers and a local law school, received a Ford Foundation \$35,000 grant for surveys and evaluation. Supported also by the Edna McConnell Clark Foundation, the program is designed to provide quality legal services at reasonable cost for persons of moderate means.

Blacks, who constitute 85 per cent of the South Shore community, make substantially less use of lawyers than do whites, yet many South Shore residents require frequent legal services—in connection with acquiring homes or changing marital status, for example. Few are aware that legal advice can go a long way toward solving their problems, and only four lawyers maintain offices in the area.

Experiments in prepaid legal services are being sponsored by unions and other organizations in various parts of the country to serve that part of the population (estimated at 70 per cent nationally) who earn too much to get subsidized legal aid but not enough to pay the costs of private attorneys. But the Chicago experiment and one in Philadelphia, operating with assistance from the American Bar Association, are among the first neighborhood-based legal clinics aimed at delivering legal services to unaffiliated persons. The services are used in such matters as wills, divorces, consumer protection, real estate, landlord-tenant relations, bankruptcy, traffic and small claims cases.

In addition to operating a walk-in office on a busy commercial street, the South Shore Legal Services Program will reach out to inform residents of their legal needs. The project may also set up a prepaid legal service plan. Project Directors are Ron Grzywinski, Illinois Neighborhood Development Corporation, 7054 S. Jeffrey Blvd., Chicago, Ill. 60649, and Julie O'Brien, for the Fund for Justice, 53 W. Jackson Blvd., Room 742, Chicago, Ill. 60604.

again in the fall, however, and sources say it has at least an even chance of passing by the end of the year.

Chicago Democrats were pleased by Thompson's decision to permit construction of part of the city's Crosstown Expressway, at a cost of \$1-billion. The expressway had been a pet project of the late Mayor Richard J. Daley, and of Michael J. Bilandic, Daley's successor. But it has remained unbuilt during 15 years of controversy and discussion, caused by the protests of environmentalists and the refusal of past state administrations to spend the money.

Thompson and Bilandic reached an agreement under which the state would contribute its share to construction of part of the project, and the Chicago Democrats would agree to vote to finance highway improvements throughout the state.

The agreement left Thompson far more popular with the Daley-Bilandic organization than Daniel Walker, Thompson's rebellious Democratic predecessor, had ever been. The legislature cooperated with Thompson on education, traditionally a partisan issue.

What's Up in '78

The "current era of good feeling" has made the governor a clear favorite

for 1978. Sources say most voters believe Thompson needs more than two years to compile a record. And the Chicago Democrats are said to be more interested in keeping both houses of the legislature Democratic than in waging an uphill campaign against a popular governor who is willing to sit down and negotiate with them.

Walker, the one Democrat that the Chicago regulars have never liked, is not interested in a comeback in 1978. Other Democratic possibilities are Secretary of State Alan Dixon, who recently decided to run for reelection, and Michael Bakalis, former superintendent of public instruction, who has not committed himself.

Republican Sen. Charles H. Percy, also up in 1978, looks hard to beat.

Letters

LIKES AIRPORT EDITORIAL

F/M: ... I liked your St. Louis Airport editorial, probably because the last paragraph precisely summarizes my feelings.

Paul Simon
U.S. Congressman
(24th District, Illinois)

WHO NEEDS IT?

F/M: Your magazine deals with a reality that is usually depressing. Who needs it.

Richard Ross
St. Peters, Missouri

TIME TABLE / Ernest Kroll

POEM

In the bright
Sub
Day of the
Jeweler's
Specie
Display case
It's always
Aeternitatis
8:20.

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Neighborhood Power

NEIGHBORHOOD GOVERNMENT
COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS
SERVICE ORGANIZATIONS



The 1960s and 1970s have seen sweeping changes in American society brought about, in large part, by the movements surrounding great issues like the Viet Nam War, civil rights, women's rights and ecology. Institutions have been created and destroyed; popular assumptions about government, business and technology have changed, cultural values and inter-personal relationships are different.

Despite these movements and these changes a major question raised in the sixties still remains to be resolved: how much power should citizens have over the decisions which affect them? The answer to this question may well be found, not only by looking at the mass movements of the last two decades, but by looking at the smaller, quieter revolutions throughout the country: the block clubs, community pressure groups, self-help service agencies, and neighborhood government experiments.

This issue of *FOCUS/Midwest* is devoted to neighborhood groups located in Illinois and Missouri which are attempting to insure that, in their communities, citizens do have power over the decisions which affect them.

Neighborhoods are where the people are. They are small enough to give people, as individuals, a voice in decisions. They elicit feelings of unity and identification. And a lot of neighborhoods joined together can make a powerful community group, a city-wide coalition, or a national pressure group of great force.

The National Association of Neighborhoods is just such a national coalition of neighborhood groups. It is holding its first national meeting in the Midwest in the Lake View Community of Chicago from October 14-16. This issue of *FOCUS/Midwest* provides reports of the neighborhood movement in Illinois and Missouri both to the conference delegates and our regular *FOCUS/Midwest* subscribers.

In trying to organize this issue, we have separated the articles on the neighborhood groups into three general (and often overlapping) categories: neighborhood governments, community

organizations, and service delivery organizations. Each organizes itself somewhat differently, to achieve slightly different goals, utilizing somewhat different means. But each experiment has a lot to teach us about the prospects for neighborhood power.

Neighborhood governments provide a place for public decision-making, often directed towards government services and programs, often utilizing the vehicle of government, legislation. Their power derives from formal or informal recognition of the legitimacy of their decision-making process.

Community organizations provide a permanent vehicle for people to exert influence over their neighborhoods' quality-of-life-determining processes (e.g. forcing slum landlords to improve their property). Increasingly, they direct their attention and anger toward government and its agencies, either to use them as agents of change or because they have become part of the problems neighborhoods face.

Local, community-controlled service delivery groups exist because someone identified a need which was not being met by any existing agency or institution. They continue to exist if they successfully meet that need better than anyone else and if they can continue to train and involve enough people who have expertise and dedication.

All these groups need people and a relatively secure financial base to "stay in business." They need a vision of what they want to achieve, the creativity to invent a road map of actions to get there, and an informed analysis of their situation in order to turn their people and money resources into power. And they need public recognition, effective self-administration, trained leaders and visible successes to continue to generate their basic resources. All of these things can mean power.

We hope this issue of *FOCUS/Midwest* will stimulate discussion of neighborhood power and what it means. We hope that it will be one more vehicle for putting organizations in touch with one another to learn from each other's experiences.

A familiar saying goes: "When you're up to your ass in alligators, it's hard to remember that your objective was to drain the swamp." We all know well how difficult it is to find time and energy to take up questions of what we'll be doing next year, let alone to consider theoretical questions of our *raison d'etre*, or how we may fit into a system of ideals or approaches, or how human beings as well as institutions may be changed by our actions, or where we want our communities or our country to be in 10, 20, or 30 years hence. Conferences can play that role: hopefully this issue of *FOCUS/Midwest* can as well.

JUDY STEVENS AND DICK SIMPSON

Page Eleven

Dick Simpson is an associate professor of political science at the University of Illinois Chicago Circle Campus and Alderman of Chicago's 44th Ward. He is author of "Who Rules?" (Swallow Press, 1970), "Winning Elections" (Swallow Press, 1972) and "Strategies For Change" (Swallow Press, 1976).

Judy Stevens is legislative aide to Alderman Dick Simpson; she has also worked as a community organizer and staff director of a community organization.

The neighborhood movement in America

For many years we were told that the state of our neighborhoods and their future was strictly an internal affair. If our neighborhood prospered, we were to take full credit; if it declined, it was entirely our fault. Neighborhoods were somehow supposed to be unaffected by the forces of the political process, with no claims upon state and federal governments, which in turn had no views, one way or another, toward the neighborhoods.

In the 1950's, when people watched urban renewal bulldozers and highway construction projects destroy whole neighborhoods, it was hard to argue that government decisions did not matter. Then other neighborhoods began to founder because of policies and decisions that were harder to see. Neighborhoods which had not been affected by urban renewal and more obvious struggles for survival became mystified by the steady decline of their own neighborhoods only to wake up and find that their publicly licensed banks had decided to stop making mortgage and home improvement loans in their neighborhoods. From these experiences neighborhood residents and leaders began to understand the importance of city-wide, state-wide, and even national organizations.

The National Association of Neighborhoods (NAN) is, as its name states, an organization seeking to link together the small, often isolated, neighborhood groups on a national basis. Begun in 1975, primarily by East Coast-based organizations, NAN has begun to expand into the West and South, and currently includes 35 member organizations, 50 affiliates (organizations involved in national meetings and activities but not yet organiza-

tional dues-paying members) and 500 individual members. Its members range from single neighborhood organizations like Capitol Hill United Neighbors in Denver, to umbrella organizations like Greater Homewood Community Corporation in Baltimore, and city-wide neighborhood coalitions like Pittsburgh Neighborhood Alliance.

The purpose of the National Association of Neighborhoods is to act as a national policy voice of neighborhood organizations, to place neighborhood leaders on an equal standing with leaders from other sectors of society. The NAN founders recognized that if neighborhoods are to be preserved and revitalized, our own local organizations need to understand and to help shape the federal, state and local laws and public policies which affect them.

Neighborhood organizations can protect their interests by collecting information and by action. They must know which outside forces affect their neighborhoods and what factors are crucial to their preservation; they need to know how to work with other groups with common needs and how to develop programs that increase the well-being of their neighborhoods. NAN attempts to answer these needs through its monthly *NAN Bulletin*, its ten task forces, its workshops, its national meetings and its position papers, reports and recommendations.

But the collection of information must culminate in action. Neighborhood organizations must have input so that government programs help to build, rather than to destroy neighborhoods.

Where It Began

In May of 1975, over 100 people representing 40 neighborhood organi-

zations from New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Baltimore and Washington, D.C., met for three days in Washington to discuss the future of neighborhood power in America.

The organizations agreed to form the Alliance for Neighborhood Government (ANG) to act as a membership organization through which neighborhoods could build their political power. In October, 1976, the educational activities of these neighborhoods were consolidated under the name of the National Association of Neighborhoods. ANG was retained for political activities.

Since 1975, affiliated individuals and organizations have worked to develop the goals and purposes of NAN, which are: (1) to provide neighborhoods with their own vehicles for the formation of public policy and for the pursuance of their responsibilities and rights; (2) to further the exchange of knowledge and experience between neighborhoods; (3) to educate the general public about the importance of the neighborhoods as a significant entity in American social, economic and political life; and (4) to pursue productive relationships between neighborhoods and other sectors of American society in order to carry out the public policies of NAN.

Neighborhood Rights

NAN member organizations come from all kinds of neighborhoods — working class, black, Spanish speaking, poor, middle class and even a few rich neighborhoods.

In the historic Third National Meeting of NAN in Philadelphia in 1976, over 100 NAN delegates from 80 neighborhood organizations signed the

The Sixth National NAN Meeting will be hosted by Chicago's 44th Ward Assembly in October. National meetings, are hosted by neighborhood organizations and city-wide coalitions of the city in which the meeting is being held. The meetings take place in the neighborhoods, with delegates being housed by local residents.

and NAN

MILTON KOTLER



following Neighborhood Bill of Responsibilities and Rights.

"We assert that all governments and private institutions must recognize the following:

- *The right of neighborhoods to determine their own goals, consistent with the broad civic ideals of justice and human equality;*
- *The right of neighborhoods to define their own governing structures, operating procedures, names and boundaries;*
- *The right of democratically organized neighborhoods to control private and public resources necessary for the implementation and support of neighborhood decisions;*
- *The right of democratically organized neighborhoods to review in advance and decisively influence all stages of planning and implementation of all actions of government and private institutions affecting the neighborhood; and*
- *The right of neighborhoods to information necessary to carrying out these rights."*

NAN Structure

At the semi-annual national meetings, neighborhood organizations of NAN make contacts with other neighborhood leaders and people from government, business and other sectors.

Workshops identify new problems and new political needs arising from policies which impact neighborhoods. Ten task forces are crucial in the formation of policy. Their recommendations once adopted become policy directives of NAN. They study (1) housing and community development, (2) neighborhood crime prevention,

(3) neighborhood information, (4) neighborhood economic development, (5) health, (6) human rights, (7) military transfer, (8) neighborhood/labor relations, (9) energy and (10) neighborhood involvement legislation.

The Issues

The effectiveness of neighborhood groups has been proven repeatedly. For example, in June, 1976, the Task Force on Housing and Community Development developed a 17-point plan to amend the Housing and Community Development Act of 1974. The plan sought greater recognition of neighborhoods in the awarding of Community Development grants and a solution to the problem of displacement of neighborhood residents in rehabilitated urban neighborhoods. The Senate Committee on Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs recognized these points when it voted to (1) specifically authorize cities to turn over CD block grant funds to non-profit neighborhood organizations as part of the city's CD program, (2) require that plans filed by cities under CD show dislocations of low and moderate income persons which may result from housing rehabilitation, (3) devote substantial priority under CD to help relocate low- and moderate-income residents in the same neighborhood, (4) require that most of the CD funds go to benefit low- and moderate-income persons.

This summer, ANG held two days of Peoples' Hearings on the tragic effects of displacement caused by urban reinvestment. They coincided with hearings on neighborhood displacement held by the Senate Committee on Banking, Housing and Urban

Affairs. Thirty-five neighborhood leaders shared their experiences and strategies and decided to hold a national ANG Conference on Displacement in January of 1978.

The NAN Task Force on Neighborhood Information has worked for two years to get the U.S. Bureau of the Census to recognize neighborhood organizations as legitimate census users. After House hearings and the introduction of legislation, NAN and the Census Bureau have just reached an agreement to operate a statistics for neighborhoods program after the 1980 Census, enabling recognized neighborhood organizations to obtain free census information.

Relationships with other power sectors are being established. The NAN Task Force on Neighborhood/Labor Relations has formed a joint committee with the AFL-CIO.

Earlier this year, NAN's Fifth National Meeting adopted resolutions on a wide range of issues, asking for (1) more LEAA funds for neighborhood organizations to fight crime, (2) that the Department of Labor, in contracting with municipalities, require that a specific percentage of funds be subcontracted to neighborhood organizations for the employment of youth, (3) that the federal budget be examined to identify the potential for converting military expenditures to domestic expenditures.

These and other issues will be taken up by NAN task forces. A new era of political development is in the making.

Organizing A National Neighborhood Movement

Organizing local neighborhood

Continued on page 23

The people decide in the 44th Ward

GRETA SALEM AND SANNA HANS

"Then the motion carries that we'll advise the Alderman to oppose funding of the Beat Representative program," said Acting Chairman Art Curry, after the debate was over and the votes counted. "Now, let's talk about doggie doo."

"Right!" shouted a voice from the back of the room. "Let's get some teeth into that dog litter law!"

The members of the 44th Ward Assembly laughed and groaned, then settled down again to decide how their Alderman should vote on another issue.

Purpose of an Assembly

Unique among Chicago's 50 wards, the 44th Ward Assembly was formed as a result of a campaign promise made by Alderman Dick Simpson during his first campaign in 1971. "I wanted to create an institution which would permit ward citizens to participate directly in policy-making," he said.

The focus of the Assembly was to be on policies rather than partisan politics. The members allowed no deviation from this rule as the Alderman learned at the first meeting on January 9, 1972. When Simpson introduced several politicians who were campaigning for re-election, the Assembly delegates protested. "They told me this is a policy-making body and it doesn't waste its time on electioneering," he said.

The Assembly Charter lists four main purposes: 1) to direct and advise the Alderman as to what new legislation he shall sponsor in the City Council;

2) to direct and advise the Alderman as to how he shall cast his vote in the City Council; 3) to establish priorities for programs to be undertaken by the Alderman for the benefit of the wards; and 4) to make possible free and responsible debate on all the issues that affect the welfare of the residents of the Ward.

An additional goal is to bring together representatives of the diverse ethnic, socio-economic, religious, age and sexual preference groups of the ward, which consists of a heterogeneous collection of upper- and middle-class professionals, working-class Germans and other ethnic groups, Latinos, Appalachians, and even some Gypsies.

Alderman bound by Assembly

By charter, the Alderman is bound by the decision of the Ward Assembly on issues before the City Council and on ward projects, provided they were adopted at least by two-thirds vote -- unless the requested action violates the U.S. Constitution.

The value of these promises is as much symbolic as it is practical. Although Simpson does indeed share what power he has with his constituents, as one of a small group of minority Aldermen in the Democratic organization-controlled Chicago City Council, his power is minimal. Nevertheless, he has set the precedent of requiring an elected official to carry out a representational role and requiring

the citizen to do more than merely vote.

Several other Independent Aldermen share Simpson's views on issues and are interested in the input of their constituents. Some sponsor town hall meetings and frequently get together with community organization representatives. None of them, however, are willing to be bound by the vote of the group.

Former 43rd Ward Alderman Bill Singer, who challenged the Democratic machine by running as an Independent against Richard Daley in the 1975 mayoral election, said while he was still Alderman, "I often hold meetings with groups, but I always reserve the right to disagree." Even if he disagreed, says Simpson, he would vote the Assembly's wishes -- after trying to persuade the delegates to agree with him. "It is wrong to assume that the legislator always knows the right answer."

He also reserves the right to present his argument in the City Council even if it conflicts with the Assembly's will and the vote which he must ultimately cast. For the most part, Simpson has not found himself in conflict with Assembly wishes. He agreed to change his vote on a rise in the city's vehicle sticker tax when the delegates voted to oppose it, and he was chastised when he attempted to introduce a prostitution ordinance without giving the Assembly an opportunity to debate it. Consequently, he postponed the introduction of the ordinance so that the



Assembly could have a chance to study the proposal and make its recommendation.

The Assembly

All residents qualify as members of the 44th Ward Assembly and may attend meetings and debate the proposals, but only delegates may vote on the issues. Each of the Ward's 61 precincts elects two delegates each year, representing the unorganized interests in the ward, and any organization with a membership of 25 or more may select one delegate. Among the 60 organizations which have sent representatives, there are such varied interests as the Holy Trinity Lutheran Church, the Illinois Gays for Legislative Action, the Illinois Drug Abuse Rehabilitative Program, the Lakeview Lions Club, and the 19th District Chicago Police Department, as well as PTAs and neighborhood groups.

The Assembly is required to meet at least ten times a year at monthly intervals, and an emergency meeting can be called by the Alderman or by any 200 residents of the ward. Precinct delegates are elected at neighborhood coffees in each precinct. A minimum of 25 people must participate in

the selection. Invitations to these coffees, each one of which the Alderman attends, are distributed to every household in the precinct. The coffees are not always well attended. Would-be precinct delegates must then canvass their neighborhoods for the additional

necessary signatures until they get at least 25 on their election petitions. Organizational delegates are selected each year by the groups to which they belong.

A Steering Committee, composed of ten delegates elected at the first

Continued on page 24



Greta W. Salem is an assistant professor of political science at DePaul University and did her doctoral dissertation on the 44th Ward Assembly.

Sanna Hans Longden is a freelance editor and writer.

Involving all citizens

DORIS QUINN

"You don't have to move to live in a better neighborhood," is the philosophy of the members of the Independence Plan for Neighborhood Councils. They are participants in a unique form of government-citizen cooperation which involves people from each of Independence's neighborhoods in both a variety of neighborhood self-government as well as a process of structured input into city government.

The Neighborhood Councils idea was born in January of 1971, when the Mayor of Independence, Phil Weeks, decided to seek greater involvement of people in the affairs of the city. He appointed a sub-committee on Citizen Involvement which recommended the formation of neighborhood councils which would meet on a regular basis to train and involve local citizens in neighborhood and municipal affairs. That fall, a Title I grant for \$15,000 was obtained through Central Missouri State University for leadership, training and administration. Terry Snap was hired as the executive coordinator and Dr. Ken Brookens, as project director.

The Neighborhood Councils organization which was created is unique in several ways. First, it seeks to include everyone in Independence, and not aim at any specific group. Every one of the 120,000 residents of Independence is encouraged to become a member; anyone over 12 years of age is a voting member and children under 12 are associate members. No membership dues or special qualifications are required. It is not funded by the city or tied to any existing organization. And, as the membership card states, "Our goal is to be second best — not to take the place of, or compete with government, schools, churches, businesses or agencies, but to assist them to be successful, achieving their worthwhile goals." Staff coordinates and fa-

cilitates, but does not set the policy.

Structure

After more than six years of operation, a structure has evolved in which each neighborhood elects a president and vice president; and chairpersons and vice chairpersons of 20 committees. This is the neighborhood's "cabinet" which conducts local meetings and coordinates local activities. Every resident is encouraged to serve on a committee.

The Presidents and Vice Presidents from each neighborhood meet together monthly as the Council of Presidents, the governing body for the entire organization. The Council of Presidents establishes policy and considers programs and projects originating in the various neighborhoods and committees.

A fifteen-member Executive Board is elected by the Council of Presidents, which holds a separate monthly meeting to develop recommendations for the Council. Among its members are a former city councilman, a school board president and a state legislator, as well as several attorneys, a hospital administrator, an insurance agent, a college professor, two businesswomen and a salesman.

Each voting member of the 20 local neighborhood committees automatically has a voting membership on a city-wide committee of the same name. The city-wide committee, therefore, is composed of representatives from every neighborhood all serving in the same position in their local neighborhoods and sharing the same general areas of interest. Ten of the committees are known as Cultural Life Committees and ten as City Government Committees. The Cultural Life Committees include: community arts (which promotes specific events),

"neighboring," human relations, communications, social services, business relations, community education, leadership development, family life and Issues & Answers (which sponsors forums for discussion of city-wide issues).

City government committees are organized into the same areas as local government, and members meet regularly with their counterparts in city government, agencies or institutions. These committees are: Administrative Services, City Manager, Courts and Law, Energy and Environment, Fire, Health, Planning, Police, Public Works, and Recreation and Parks. The "City Manager" committee person represents the neighborhood at City Council Meetings; the Fire committee has "Operation Fire-Check" and the Planning committee initiates briefing sessions and a planning program for the purpose of developing a neighborhood master plan. The Public Works committee conducts "windshield surveys" to identify needed projects and the Recreation and Parks committee develops neighborhood recreation programs.

Programs

The Neighborhood Councils' first conspicuous accomplishment was an informational campaign in 1972 to convince citizens they should vote for a 1¢ city sales tax and a \$13 million bond issue. Despite the fact that a ½¢ sales tax proposal had previously been defeated, the informed citizenry now overwhelmingly voted to pass both issues.

Since then, projects have been directed toward keeping people in touch with what government and other institutions are doing, and keeping government in touch with community needs; recognizing and rewarding citizens,



NEIGHBORHOOD COUNCILS

INDEPENDENCE • MO

and conducting local service projects.

Rewarding contributions to the community takes the form of, for example, a youth recognition program, "Cream of the Crop Show," wherein more than 7,000 Independence youths have been cited for their positive contributions. A "Neighborhood Beautification Program" and "Good Neighbor Program" has recognized over 500 families for the quality of their family life and their demonstrated interest in improving and maintaining their property.

Service projects include "Project Juvenile Concern," a three-part program which provides volunteers to fill the gap caused by the lack of a Juvenile Unit in the Independence Police Department. Volunteer probation officers are trained to work on a one-to-one basis with consent cases and first offenders, in order to give each probationer personal attention.

Emergency foster homes are available on a short term basis for juveniles awaiting a hearing who need a place to stay other than jail or a detention center, while either in protective custody or until more permanent arrangements can be made by the court. A prime example of the need for this program is the situation of a girl who was raped by her father. She didn't need that harrowing experience compounded by being put in jail for her protection.

A Buddy Program matches high school youth on an individual basis with juveniles aged 7-12, who have been identified as troubled youth in need of extra guidance. Over 800 youth have been helped through "Project Juvenile Concern."

"Operation Crimestop" is a crime-prevention program operated in cooperation with the Police Department. Nearly 3,000 homes have been protected by marking valuables and plac-

ing an identifying decal on the door. Only one home thus marked has been broken into.

A major program is aimed at the educational needs of adults. Called the "Independence Plan for Continuing Education and Recreation," the program tripled the attendance of adult education and other programs through the distribution of an annual directory of courses and resources in Independence — mailed to 42,000 homes each September.

A three-year health survey of the entire city also solicited suggestions by citizens. The project included the distribution of 45,000 copies of a specially prepared Health Services Directory.

Communication plays an important part in the Neighborhood Council program. A monthly magazine, the *Independence Neighbor*, is mailed to about 3,000 families. It contains news of the Council and incorporates a "How-To" manual section for training leaders in the neighborhoods. Paid advertisements underwrite the cost of the magazine.

A coordinated newsletter, an 11x17 tabloid publication, is a project of the Communications committee. The Service Center of the Neighborhood Councils provides the material for the inside two pages which are written by the president of the Communications committee. This half of the newsletter is printed and made available to all the neighborhoods, who may purchase it for a minimal cost. Then they can write and lay out their neighborhood news on the outside and take this copy to the printer. He prints, at no extra charge, a finished newsletter for them which gives their neighborhood the local and city-wide news about the Neighborhood Councils. The 25,000 circulation of the neighborhood newsletters reaches more homes than the

local daily newspaper!

Since May, when the Coordinated Newsletter started publication, membership has markedly increased in neighborhoods which have participated in the program.

Probably the most exciting program this year is the SNAP (Stimulate Neighborhood Action Processes) project funded by the Chas. S. Mott Foundation. A grant of \$131,500 allows 20 neighborhoods to spend \$5,000 as each neighborhood sees fit within certain guidelines. The five-point goal of the project is to interest citizens in improving the quality of life in their neighborhood, to develop a sense of "we can-ness," to stimulate concern for issues of broader significance, to identify and harness the resources of the neighborhood, and to stimulate the process of sharing, working and acting together.

Innovative ideas coming out of the neighborhoods range from producing a slide film about family life, to making smoke detectors available at below cost, to planting purple leaf plum trees throughout a neighborhood, and to establishing a neighborhood "Rap House" for youth.

Projects are coordinated by a paid staff of nine people headed by Richard Hettrick, executive director, who is a former Boy Scout executive and minister. He has been associated with the Neighborhood Councils from the beginning, as a member of the original group that suggested the idea of forming the group.

Process Facilitator for the 20 city-wide committees is Terry Snap, the first staff person hired. Terry was a pharmacist with a master's degree in speech communication when he made a career change to work in the Neighborhood Councils.

While in the past the Neighborhood Councils have lived largely off

Continued on page 25

Jeff-Vander-Lou: Against all odds

MICHAEL WATSON

"In the mid-sixties, the Jeff-Vander-Lou area ranked first, second, or third in St. Louis in every negative index used in socio-demographic studies," states Jim Sporleder, administrative assistant to Macler Shepard, president of Jeff-Vander-Lou. The human suffering reflected in that statement (maternal death, tuberculosis, venereal disease, crime, heart failure, unemployment, welfare dependency, narcotics, infant death, crumbling housing) defies description.

A 1968 door-to-door survey indicated a 67% unemployment rate. In one key area of Jeff-Vander-Lou, less than 20% of the houses were owner occupied. Nearly 70% were totally without plumbing. Overall, 85% of the housing units in the community were owned or controlled by thirteen real estate dealers.

Despite slumlords, economic strangulation and killing poverty the Jeff-Vander-Lou area, 700 blocks and 50,000 people on the near north side of St. Louis, was an area with great strengths: There were many households where both husband and wife or a single parent were employed. There were families that had lived in the same house for nearly forty years. Extended families had established a kinship structure throughout the community. And above all, the community had a will to survive. It lacked only an instrument for survival.

Creating an Instrument of Change

Then in 1965 the War on Poverty came to St. Louis. The City designated the Human Development Corporation as its Community Action Agency, the

politically-sanctioned conduit for federal anti-poverty funds. The Human Development Corporation divided the metropolitan area into fourteen districts, one of them the "Yeatman Area", which included the Jeff-Vander-Lou community. For the Yeatman Area, the Urban League of St. Louis was given the money and authority to hire a staff of organizers.

This staff of organizers and the ensuing struggle over control of the anti-poverty program, were the crucial ingredients in the creation of Jeff-Vander-Lou, Incorporated, the Yeatman area's instrument for survival. To create that instrument, however, the organizers had to kiss their jobs goodbye.

According to Jim Sporleder, one of the Urban League's original organizers, the first assignment for the seven member staff was to organize a Neighborhood Advisory Council to direct the efforts and resources available through OEO. The Urban League, however, presented the staff with a 'ready made' Council - representatives of the League's local block units.

The block units had a very unimpressive record over their twenty years of existence in the area, so the staff searched for other individuals and/or groups to represent the community. In short order the poverty staff and the 19th Ward Beautification Committee found each other. . . .

Also during 1964, Lady Bird Johnson's plan to "beautify America" had borne strange fruit in St. Louis' 19th Ward, which encompassed most of the Yeatman area. The 19th Ward Beautification Committee was created

to make use of beautification monies. Three of the prime movers in organizing this committee, Florence Aritha Spotts, a retired school teacher, Hubert Schwartzentruber, a young, white, Mennonite minister, and Macler Shepard. They envisioned it as a vehicle for community rehabilitation.

However, politicians in the area desired to control the resources that would filter through the Committee to further ward patronage. To accomplish this the Committee was to be chaired by the alderman or the committeeman. Spotts, Schwartzentruber, and Shepard joined forces in order to thwart those plans.

On the evening of the Committee elections, Spotts, Schwartzentruber and Shepard packed the hall and were elected Chairman, Vice-Chairman, and Secretary of the 19th Ward Beautification Committee.

Attempts were made to use the beautification program to begin to rebuild the community. Surveys of the area were done to set priorities. The rehabilitation of existing housing in the area became the primary goal.

As promised, free paint was supplied by the city and delivered to the area. But . . . the paint came with instructions that it was only to be used on exterior surfaces. Once over lightly and the area would be beautiful. The Beautification Committee, following the leadership of the three political rebels, returned the paint, along with a set of instructions explaining one possible use of the material to the Mayor, the Honorable A.J. Cervantes. The 19th Ward Beautification Committee it became evident was not the instrument to rehabilitate the community,



JVL community meeting at Bethesda Mennonite Church

Creating Community Leadership

Like other leaders, black leaders are created, not born. But it depends who creates them.

The Setting

In the spring of 1964, a boy was killed by police as he was running across a school yard; according to the police, he had been accidentally shot as a fleeing suspect. Though there had been incidents of vandalism in the school, there was no proof that this child was in any way involved. Macler Shepard, a local businessman, and concerned citizen, organized a march from the Jeff-Vander-Lou area, through the Pruitt-Igoe housing project, to police headquarters. Approximately 5,000 people finished the march. This spawned joint meetings of police officials and political leaders with Shepard and others representing the community. But the community was unable to sustain pressure on the political and police structure; and no lasting changes were made in police policy.

That fall, with the backing of a rump political organization, Shepard ran for the position of Democratic Committeeman of the 19th Ward. He won the office and was ordered by political bosses to "close ranks" and continue the jobs of all current patronage workers. Business would go on as usual.

Shepard quit in protest. He had been Committeeman for one week.

When the Urban League's poverty program staff and the Beautification Committee met, they discussed the fact that there was no vehicle which was capable of dealing with the problems that threatened the Jeff-Vander-

Lou community. In order to deal with these problems, Shepard, Spotts, Schwartzentruber and others from the community, along with members of the poverty staff, met at the home of Aritha Spotts in October, 1966.

They drew up articles of incorporation for Jeff-Vander-Lou, Inc. By charter, everyone who lived and/or worked in the area bounded by Jefferson, Natural Bridge, Sarah, and Olive Streets was a member. Members of Jeff-Vander-Lou elected a fifteen member board, and Macler Shepard as president.

The North-South Distributor

The new board was immediately faced with a problem of incredible destructive potential: the state had plans for a North-South Distributor, six lanes of concrete and steel that would connect every East-West highway in the City of St. Louis, a North-South Distributor that would run down 20th Street, just six blocks from Jefferson Avenue, and displace countless businesses; warehousing, industry, commercial firms. Where would they go? The city political structure could not sit idly by and watch those taxes leave St. Louis. Logic and rumor both said that large segments of the Jeff-Vander-Lou area would be razed and redeveloped for displaced businesses. The North-South Distributor would come with a vengeance.

Meanwhile, in the words of Jim Sporleder, "The poverty staff, with assistance from Shepard, Spotts, and Schwartzentruber, had developed a proposal and gotten additional O.E.O. funds to expand staff and operations.

The J-V-L area was split into four

quadrants with staff assigned to organize four area councils which jointly would make up Neighborhood Advisory Council. Jeff-Vander-Lou itself made up one of the four area councils. The other three were to be organized and invited to join with Jeff-Vander-Lou so that Jeff-Vander-Lou would represent the entire area as the Neighborhood Advisory Council. This strategy was opposed by the Urban League.

"Several directives from the Urban League were sent, ordering no further involvement with Jeff-Vander-Lou, etc. The staff continued, however, hoping to get Jeff-Vander-Lou into power before the issue reached crisis stage. Elections were held and three of the four areas decided to merge with the corporation Jeff-Vander-Lou.

"The fourth was being organized by a man whose allegiance was with the Urban League and who did not cooperate. This area, however, did not develop a strong council and was not an effective counter-force to the strategy."

Jeff-Vander-Lou won sixty out of sixty seats on the Neighborhood Advisory Council.

In the fall of 1966, the city announced plans for a \$79,300,000 bond issue and called for a concerted effort throughout the city to achieve the two-thirds majority vote necessary to pass its sixteen proposals. They included money for the St. Louis Gateway Arch, zoo construction, parks, Kiel Auditorium improvements, street lighting, highways, and other things. They did not include any benefits for the Jeff-Vander-Lou area. Representatives from J-V-L and the Urban League

anti-poverty staff met with the Mayor and his staff. The J-V-L representatives were told bluntly that no change would be made in the bond issue. No public improvements could be expected in the J-V-L area.

While the *St. Louis Argus* headlined an issue "Religious, Political, and Business Leaders Endorse City Improvement Bonds," Jeff-Vander-Lou and the anti-poverty staff announced their opposition.

Bond issue meetings were held throughout the city to generate support, except in the J-V-L area where they soon became platforms for dissent. Jeff-Vander-Lou, Inc. took up the slack by organizing anti-bond meetings with audiences that were often between one and three hundred strong.

Jim Sporleder recalls, "In response to the city's propaganda booklet, 'Let's Do It!,' Jeff-Vander-Lou mimeographed a booklet, 'Let's Don't.' The city urged a vote for a new lion house; Jeff-Vander-Lou pointed out that in 1955 the city had passed \$500,000 for such a facility and demanded to know where the money went. Investigation of the 1955 bond issue uncovered subdivisions where parks should have been built, no parking lots at City Hospital where funding had been approved. The city put up large outdoor signs, 'Let's Do It!'; Jeff-Vander-Lou paid for junior posters under key signs saying 'Let's Don't!' and listing a phone number where people called and were informed."

Seventeen of the twenty-three members of the Bond Issue Committee lived in St. Louis County rather than St. Louis City. One of the seventeen, William Douthit, was both chairman of

the committee and executive director of the Urban League. The Urban League anti-poverty staff was greatly pressured not to oppose the bond issue. Still, they continued.

Representatives from Jeff-Vander-Lou began to pay visits to some white South St. Louis neighborhoods. The message that they carried was that race aside, neighborhoods that got no direct benefit from the bond issue had a common cause. The message was understood.

In the November 1966 election, only four of the sixteen bond proposals were passed. Until one week before the election the only organized opposition to the bond issue was Jeff-Vander-Lou. The political structure had received notice; a new and potent political force had been created.

The City Reacts

Having emerged unscathed in a political battle with the powers-that-be, Jeff-Vander-Lou immediately sought another victory: enforcement of the housing code. That same November, a delegation from Jeff-Vander-Lou met with the building commissioner to protest the lack of code enforcement.

The building commissioner responded that code enforcement was no solution for slum conditions; it was too late for that. The J-V-L delegation left after explaining that city law required the commissioner to inspect for and correct code violations.

"Buildings in slum areas," said the Commissioner, "are normally inspected only on a specific complaint rather than on a community-wide basis."

Homeowners in the J-V-L area began to send in complaints against slumlords. The complainants suddenly found that their own homes were being inspected. Slumlords were receiving minor fines or probation in night housing court, but homeowners were ordered to make extensive and very expensive repairs.

Tactics changed. For three months, members of the community, led by Jeff-Vander-Lou, Inc. and the anti-poverty staff, collected complaints against slumlords. By February, 1967, twelve hundred complaints had been filed in the building commissioner's office, all by people who lived outside the J-V-L area.

That same month, the building commissioner publically announced that 75% of the buildings inspected were unfit for human habitation and should be condemned en masse. Evictions began. An invalid woman was set on the curb in a stretcher.

As fast as the city evicted families, Jeff-Vander-Lou, Inc. moved them back in. Under the law, the city was forced to start new eviction proceedings. Jeff-Vander-Lou then announced that it was setting up refugee camps in churches, community centers, and anywhere else it could find space. Cots, pallets, bedding, and other necessities were solicited and pledged from the Red Cross, the U.S. Marines, churches, and other sources.

Riots started to break out in other major cities. Suddenly the evictions stopped and every poverty official, politician, and his brother hustled into the area to negotiate a settlement. The real estate dealers appointed a spokesman.



Summer youth videotaping production with instructor

No More Renewal

Jeff-Vander-Lou, Inc. demanded clarification of the city's plans for the area. It also exacted a promise: *no more urban renewal*. The real estate interests panicked. Slumlords had maintained control of their buildings in anticipation of windfall profits from urban renewal. In renewal areas such units had been purchased for \$10,000 to \$15,000 each. But this did not cause the panic. The panic was caused by the twelve hundred housing complaints which the building commissioner would be forced to process.

Through a spokesman, the real estate dealers offered options to Jeff-Vander-Lou, Inc. to purchase the properties at \$4,000 to \$5,000 per unit. The offer was declined.

With the urban renewal threat under control, J-V-L began to develop plans and proposals for a broad based attack on the problems of the community. Grant applications were drafted to the Department of Housing and Urban Development for housing rehabilitation, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare for a health center, educational facilities, and a tenant training program, and to the Department of Labor for job training. None of these were approved.

Jim Sporleder: "In spite of instructions, memos, and directives to the contrary, the staff continued to assist J-V-L. Notice was given that dismissals would result if the staff continued stirring up trouble."

By the end of May, the last members of the anti-poverty staff had been dismissed by the Urban League because of "...staff cutbacks necessitated by decreased funds."



Macler Shepard

Struggle For Independence

For the next three months, J-V-L and the one-time anti-poverty staff, now working unpaid, fought to gain control of the Jeff-Vander-Lou area's anti-poverty money. J-V-L's strategy was to obtain direct federal funds by taking advantage of new O.E.O. guidelines to community organizations.

Before J-V-L could bypass the Human Development Corporation and get direct federal funding, counter measures were taken. The Human Development Corporation insisted on a new election for members of the

Neighborhood Advisory Council. Macler Shepard felt that J-V-L should refuse to allow the election and, if necessary, seek redress in the courts. But the election was held. J-V-L won all sixty seats on the N.A.C.

Two months later, the Human Development Commission decided that the previous election had been improper because it had only been held at one site. A new election would have polling places in each of the four sub-areas.

According to Jim Sporleder the poverty staff, although dismissed, was counting on J-V-L's getting federal money and rehiring them in short order. The money failed to materialize. Their former jobs had been filled by people more sensitive to the ward politicians' and city officials' wishes. This new staff *quickly* reorganized the two sub-areas outside J-V-L's immediate neighborhood and strengthened the fourth, already a foe of J-V-L.

In the late summer of 1967, the new election was held. Jeff-Vander-Lou won fifteen of the sixty seats. The politicians had pulled out the ward vote.

The new N.A.C. incorporated and became the Yeatman District Community Corporation. Federal money was immediately forthcoming.

Since the federal funds went elsewhere, a major source of strength and support for Jeff-Vander-Lou has been the Bethesda Mennonite Church. Bethesda was founded by Reverend James Lark, a black Mennonite minister who formed congregations in black neighborhoods throughout the country. When he moved on to start other congregations in 1957, he was succeeded by Hubert Schwartzentruber, a young Canadian who, along with his wife,



Jeff-Vander-Lou rehabilitated units
Volume 12, Number 75

"had never been in a town larger than 10,000 people or been closer than two blocks to a black person."

Bethesda soon set up a coffee shop called "The Handle," a place where people could talk. It was "The Handle" that became the first office of Jeff-Vander-Lou.

In days when no money was coming, Mennonite Mutual Aid made a \$30,000 interest-free loan for housing rehabilitation. The Mennonite's Minority Ministries Council made a grant of \$30,000 to hire a construction supervisor for three years. The Mennonite Disaster Service sent skilled craftsmen into the city to rehabilitate houses.

In 1968, the Illinois Mennonite Youth Fellowship raised funds to purchase and rehabilitate a house. During that summer, crews of these youth come to work on the house, under the guidance of Jeff-Vander-Lou, Inc. and a contractor.

J-V-L Diversifies

Help also came from other sources. *Tom DePew*, a successful St. Louis businessman, went to the Model Agency in 1968 to discuss the possibility of restoring his old family home. He was referred to Macler Shepard because the house was in the J-V-L area.

Shepard explained that the house was beyond repair and asked DePew to pick another to rehabilitate. DePew did, hired a contractor from the J-V-L area, rehabilitated the house and turned it over to Jeff-Vander-Lou at no cost.

He later formed the Arrowhead Foundation, which has provided more than \$1,000,000 to Jeff-Vander-Lou in grants and interest-free loans.

Brown Shoe Company built a plant in the Jeff-Vander-Lou area after J-V-L had successfully placed a dozen employees from the community in Brown's operations.

The Presbytery of Elijah Parish Lovejoy formed with Jeff-Vander-Lou the J-V-L Housing Corporation.

Housing development in the J-V-L area is now on its fifteenth project: substantial rehabilitation of 98 units of housing. This will mean \$3.1 million in additional capital development. J-V-L's total investment now amounts to \$12,000,000. These units will be marketed under the Section 8 program. The rents can vary considerably — enough to include very low as well as moderate-income families. The project is a joint venture with National Housing Partners, and J-V-L will be the managing agents. As with all J-V-L housing packages, Jeff-Vander-Lou refuses to take a property tax abate-

ment. "We pay our taxes," says Macler Shepard, "We want our services."

Housing Management: All J-V-L housing units are and have been fully occupied, with rent collections over 98%.

Senior Citizens: J-V-L's senior citizens program has expanded to more than eighty meals a day. Over three hundred and fifty elderly residents of the area are served through a program which includes meals, field trips, recreation, shopping, medical assistance, transportation, and counseling on social security, circuit breaker, and other relevant topics. Jeff-Vander-Lou has recently renovated a new senior citizen's center that provides expanded facilities for elderly community residents.

J-V-L News: A monthly newspaper is directly mailed to over 16,000 addresses. A total of 18,000 are printed and distributed throughout the immediate neighborhood and to other interested individuals. Neighborhood high school students are participating in writing, distributing, and selling advertising.

Child Care Centers: Jeff-Vander-Lou offers child care for sixty-four children at two centers, which offer pre-school activities, including gross and fine motor training, reading, field trips, and play. Plans are underway for a third center.

Economic Development Team: The National Self-Development of People Committee of the United Presbyterian Church granted \$50,000 to J-V-L to establish an economic development staff with officers and consulting funds. Initial efforts include continued activities in the Martin Luther King Shopping Mall, loans for J-V-L area homeowners, and expansion and development of businesses in the area.

Summer Youth Program: During the summers of 1976 and 1977, fifty youths from the Jeff-Vander-Lou community participated in an eight-week training program funded by S.L.A.T.E. The youths, who received salaries during their training, were divided into departments which consisted of journalism, video-radio production, book-keeping, clerical, still photography, vocal-visual (drama), sales and marketing, graphic arts, architectural drafting, and motion photography. Students are directly involved in several J-V-L departments.

Projections for the coming year: Jeff-Vander-Lou has submitted applications for 238 units of elderly housing on two sites, representing \$5,000,000 in capital development. J-V-L is also processing an application

to H.U.D. for eighty-eight units of "in-fill" housing to begin building on the many large vacant lots left by city demolition. Cost of this project is estimated at \$3,000,000.

With the completion of a market survey, J-V-L will begin renovating buildings in the Martin Luther King Shopping Mall for new and expanding businesses.

The staff is anticipating demands for consulting services from around the country. J-V-L is also expanding its youth and child care programs. The St. Louis Public School system has endorsed its activities and J-V-L is seeking funds to begin a joint program in communications. High school students will receive credit for on-site work with J-V-L in the areas of video tape, radio broadcasting, newspaper publication, and film production. J-V-L eventually plans to expand this program to include social services, child care, cooking, carpentry, and maintenance.

Michael Watson is a free-lance journalist and vice president of Jeff-Vander-Lou, Incorporated. He wishes to express his appreciation to Josephine Lockhart and Jim Sporleder for their time and assistance in preparing this article.

POEM

TO MY FATHER /

John McKernan

Dust off your clothing
Then grab an iron crow bar
To pry off the brass lid

Soil will come tumbling in
But you can shovel it
Over your shoulder and inch

Your way up out onto
The cold blue winter
Of the South Omaha sky.

Now I know what dead means
Not even to move a toe
Not even to see the dust

Move in a winter's wind
It is enough to stop one
In his tracks Enough to put

An end to all qualms about
Welcoming this brand new spring.



NAN continued from page 13

organizations into a national movement and alliance is not easy. Each community group has its own history, its own leadership, and its own perspective on what needs to be done. But they also face similar problems. Urban renewal is a disaster in all cities, city hall is most often unresponsive, services like health care and education are always inadequate. Usually, problems are caused by the same forces — big government and big business.

NAN is not the only national organization which has grown up in response to these common problems. National Peoples Action is trying to organize Alinsky-style community organizations across the country. A dozen training centers like Midwest Academy are growing up around the country to help train neighborhood organizers and leaders. Conference/Alternative State and Local Public Policies draws together progressive politicians, public interest groups, and pressure groups to work for change. This diversity within the movement can be a source of strength.

NAN attempts specifically to bring neighborhood groups together who

organize local communities, who provide specific services to neighborhoods such as health care, or who are working for neighborhood government.

Control of NAN rests in its individual and organizational members. Policy is determined by the membership and action stemming from that policy is directed by the NAN board of directors. For example, NAN task forces can only be formed by approval of a plenary session of NAN. A task force must provide the membership with drafts of the resolutions it plans to propose at least 30 days prior to national meetings, and before a task force resolution becomes official policy it must be approved by a majority vote at a national meeting.

NAN is directed by a 56 member board of neighborhood leaders, chaired by Ron Shiffman of the New York City Housing and Community Development Coalition. This citizen board has wide-ranging responsibilities. The NAN national office, consisting of an executive director and three staff members and a cadre of interns, maintains day-to-day contact with member neighborhood organizations and co-

ordinates their activities, but is not responsible for policy formation.

The Financial Base

At its inception, NAN and ANG were funded by the Institute for Policy Studies, a few small grants, and newsletter subscriptions. However, NAN hopes to become self-supporting within four years through a national membership campaign. The campaign has just begun with a goal of 100 organizational memberships by the end of 1977. Organizational membership in NAN is \$100 for funded neighborhood organizations (those receiving foundation or government funds) and \$50 for unfunded organizations. Member organizations receive 25 copies of the monthly NAN Bulletin which reviews activities of the task forces, models of neighborhood organization and neighborhood news from around the country. They also receive full NAN voting rights; registration, room and board at one semi-annual national meeting for one delegate; the opportunity to join NAN task forces; and the opportunity to attend meetings between NAN neighborhood organizations and government officials.

NAN also has a \$15 individual membership which includes a subscription to the *Bulletin* and voting rights.



*Drafting of the
Neighborhood
Bill of Rights*

Milton Kotler, author of *Neighborhood Government* (Bobbs-Merrill, 1969) and former director of the Institute for Neighborhood Studies at the Institute for Policy Studies, is currently executive director of the National Association of Neighborhoods, (1612 20th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009). Further information on NAN can be obtained by writing him directly.

Assembly meeting and the four standing committee chairpersons, prepares the agenda for the monthly meetings. To assure adequate representation of unorganized interests on the Steering Committee, organizational delegates are limited to five seats.

The standing committee chairpersons are among the most active members. One co-chairperson of the 1977 Steering Committee is Marge Topps, a social work administrator who has been active in Chicago Independent politics since 1969, although a relatively new resident of the 44th Ward. She shares responsibilities with attorney Gary Crosby, a condominium dweller from the east side of the ward who has long been involved in community organizations. Crosby is also co-chairperson of the Finance Committee with Art Curry, a stock broker from the ward's west side. Membership Committee chairpersons are Norma Guenther, a young arts and crafts instructor who grew up in the central part of the 44th ward, and Eileen Hess, a precinct captain of the regular Democratic organization and east side resident. Marge Murphy, an Illinois Bell employee from the west end, heads the Service Committee; and the Social Action Committee is chaired by Gayla Carpenter, a health administrator from the west side, and Tom Straulin, a cab driver and resident of the central part of the ward.

Skirmishes and Battles

The Ward Assembly has won numerous skirmishes and a few major battles in its five years. The greatest accomplishment, Simpson says, is the "existence of the assembly as a new instrument of government and as a model of the type of neighborhood government which is possible in this country even with our mass urban society."

One of the most important battles was won when the city passed the anti-redlining ordinance which was drafted and fought for by the 44th Ward Assembly. Redlining refers to the practice of banks and other lending institutions who mark in red specific areas in the city identified as poor loan risks, thus making it difficult for residents in those areas to get home improvement loans. This law, which allows city funds to be deposited in banks which do not redline, has become a model for other cities.

The creation of the Community Zoning Board in 1973 was another victory. The seven-member board, which is appointed by Simpson with the approval of the Assembly, holds local hearings on all zoning requests and presents advisory opinions to the City

of Chicago Zoning Board of Appeals and the City Council Committee on Buildings and Zoning. By May 1977, the Community Zoning Board had heard 26 cases. The City Zoning Board and the City Council acceded to the Community Zoning Board's recommendations in all of those cases, including some with such far-reaching repercussions as the outlawing of future highrise construction in the eastern section of the ward.

In a heated debate during the recent cold winter, the Assembly endorsed legislation to keep "adult book stores" out of residential areas; by July, the city had passed such an ordinance.

The Residential Building Security Ordinance (RSO), originated and endorsed by the Ward Assembly in 1975, calls for the inclusion of security provisions in the Chicago Building Code. Although it is still under study and discussion, having been revised five or six times, an October hearing is scheduled and the Assembly is optimistic.

Another success has been the Ward Assembly-sponsored amendments on unit pricing that are now part of the City Code. "We have a better record in getting amendments passed than ordinances," says Simpson ruefully.

In addition to its involvement in city-wide issues, the Assembly works to provide better services for ward residents. Service-oriented achievements include establishing sites for parks and playlots, setting truckload limits, drawing up the criteria under which art fairs and other public events can be held, installing extra litter baskets in heavily trafficked areas, and re-opening of a necessary subway stop.

Programs and Services

The Assembly has sponsored drives to raise funds for food and workshops on tutoring children. It has distributed 15,000 flyers, in conjunction with the Lakeview Citizens Council, telling residents how to appeal their tax assessments. This program generated more than 200 appeals, and about 60% of these were successful in lowering the homeowners' taxes. It produces and distributes annually the *44th Ward Almanac*, an extensive service guide and report, to 30,000 families.

The Assembly's 44th Ward Fair annually attracts over 3,000 people to its displays of community arts, ethnic foods, organization booths, and professional entertainment. It is probably the most integrative activity of the community, drawing a larger and more diverse population than any other Assembly activity, and it serves as a major Assembly fund raising event which requires about \$5,000 a year.

According to Judy Stevens, Simpson's legislative aide, state issues have become of greater concern to the 44th citizens than they were several years ago. One possible reason is that former Ward Assembly delegate Ellis Levin is now serving his first term as a state representative and often reports back to the Assembly. Also, the members of the Assembly may be feeling more confident about the group's effectiveness, having left some permanent scars on the King Kong of city government.

In 1977, the Ward Assembly endorsed three bills: a bottle recycling bill which recommended a 5-cent deposit; a "lifeline" bill which created special low-cost electricity rates; and a bill which would add sexual preference discrimination to the other prohibited categories of discrimination.

Of course, the 44th has not won every battle. The three state bills were defeated, and the City Council budget wars continue. Landlord-tenant and cable TV ordinances remain buried in City Council committees, and a heralded police-community liaison committee has yet to be established. The Code amendment to set up Ward Assemblies in each of Chicago's 50 wards failed, as did the one to establish Community Zoning Boards. The Freedom of Information ordinance, which would have guaranteed public access to city records, was also voted down. A Ward Assembly-endorsed resolution that the city repair defective sidewalks at no cost to abutting property owners was defeated in the City Finance Committee, and the Beat Representative Program was partially funded by the Illinois Law Enforcement Commission without the grant restrictions proposed by the Ward Assembly.

Attendance is fairly constant at the assembly meetings; about 50 to 80 members and delegates usually attend. Gay groups are more evident these days and attendance by other organizations has improved. The Latinos, however, have never been adequately represented in the Ward Assembly because of language and cultural differences. As a result, Asamblea Abierta was created and its bimonthly meetings with the Alderman are conducted in Spanish.

As the one organization in the ward dedicated to bringing together all the people in the community, the Assembly is seen as a force for unity. Residents see the Assembly as a place to go to find out what is going, to express concern and seek support. A woman from the central portion of the ward says, "It makes me feel a little less isolated and a little less helpless."

INDEPENDENCE cont from page 17
grants, this year a local financial base is being built through asking citizens to sign the "Declaration of Independence, Missouri" and pledge \$10 or more, one-half of which can be credited by the contributors to their own neighborhood. The goal is to raise \$20,000.

Over the years, the budget has mushroomed. Starting with the \$15,000 grant in 1971, it expanded to \$118,719 in 1974-75 and this year to \$266,995. Sources of funding include contributions of local citizens, Chas. S. Mott Foundation, Federal C.E.T.A. — Manpower, Institute of Dental Research and L.E.A.A. through the Missouri Council on Criminal Justice. The central office of the Neighborhood Council Service Center provides office space, a large meeting room and storage space. It handles the bookkeeping for all the neighborhoods and provides mailing labels for the neighborhood newsletters.

The future looks good for the Councils. A recent membership drive gained the Independence Neighborhood Councils 4,000 members. They feel their strength is in the fact that they encompass many interests and are an ongoing vehicle, as opposed to many groups whose life span is tied to one issue.

Principal participants, such as Nancy Melton, a young Legal Aid lawyer who is president of the Courts and Law Committee, are enthusiastic about the opportunities ahead. Nancy says, "In my work, there were many times when I wanted to refer someone to an emergency foster home or other service which did not exist. The need was there but the answer wasn't until the Neighborhood Councils began Project Juvenile Concern. We have just started to accomplish all that could be done. It's exciting to be part of such an endeavor."

As Neighborhood Councils President Judge Jack Grant said to each neighborhood president in his mock "sentencing" of the Council of Presidents in a recent installation ceremony, "I sentence each of you to continued hard labor so that your programs may be successful; to continued sharing of the dream and vision of what your neighborhood and this city can become so that others will join with you in this grand adventure."

Doris Quinn is a former industrial editor and state legislator who serves as president of the city-wide Communications Committee of the Independence Neighborhood Councils. She is employed as executive director of the Missouri Women's Caucus Research and Education Center.

VENNISHAY: NO SUCH WORD

Sylvia Wheeler

Hunger, joy have their own arias.
I mispronounce, sing,
not say.
I have declared opera's error.

This morning,
bellies slapping pond water,
killdees' pip-squeaks break
summer's hum.

The sound for this is "Vennishay"
which includes my upturned palm.

POEM



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While doing a household survey of Lake View residents for my study of that Chicago community, one question I asked people was where in the whole world they would most like to live. More than half listed Lake View, demonstrating the affection and commitment that has developed in that community.

Lakeview, which was formerly an independent township, is now a community in the middle of Chicago's northside lake front. For reasons that are purely local, it has over the years developed a strong sense of identity and communal spirit, extending to its institutions and organizations, its activists and even its average citizens.

Diversity

This is all the more remarkable, considering the enormous heterogeneity of the area. Lake View is layered from east to west by zones of wealth, transience, poverty and working-class stability. Not only are the people of the community stratified by socio-economic differences, but they are ethnically, religiously, and politically diverse. Their interests are at best divergent and, on some specific issues, conflicting.

The question arises is there one Lake View, or are there many Lake Views that confusingly all claim the same name? There is, however, a common thread that runs through the community. The thread is precisely that diversity.

In all too many communities, the entry of new and alien populations brings indifference, flight or even violence. In Lake View such differences are valued as the prime local characteristic.

The evidence of oral and documentary sources suggests that local pride, specifically local pride in diversity, is not a recent development, but something that has evolved within the community from its earliest days as a suburban village.

Lake View has never been homogeneous, dominated by a single party, ethnic group or narrow socio-economic stratum. No one people can refer to themselves as the original inhabitants. In place of an inward, we-group focus, citizens make a virtue of diversity and have become predisposed towards grassroots approaches to problem solving.

The Lake View Citizens Council

These qualities are found in Lakeview's "umbrella" community group (an organization of organizations) now celebrating its 25th anniversary: the Lake View Citizens Council.

Structurally, LVCC is not unlike the many broadbased, multi-issue community organizations which cover much of Chicago in a crazy-quilt of initials and acronyms, the first of them organized by the late Saul Alinsky. LVCC is made up of individual neighborhood members (fluctuating in number between 800 and 2000),

10 neighborhood "branch" organizations (each covering around 15-30 blocks), businesses, churches, and institutions. Individual members elect the general officers and member groups can send delegates to the Board of Directors. LVCC works on whatever issues concern community residents.

Self-Sufficiency

Early this century, blue-ribbon committees of politicians, merchants and clergymen celebrated the completion of the El tracks (Chicago's subway), the Ashland bridge, the opening of the streetcar routes, and later their replacement by buses. In local documents of the time, these events were presented not as city works benevolently bestowed upon a grateful citizenry, but rather as local achievements. Improvements to Lincoln Avenue were not seen as gifts from downtown, but the hard won fruit of the labors of the merchants of the Lincoln-Belmont-Ashland area. When the city did not measure up to local standards of maintenance, Lake View citizens took it upon themselves to set the standard.

An oft-repeated story that makes this point concerns the committeeman of the old 45th Ward, Charlie Weber. Apparently the locals thought that Lincoln Avenue was not being kept clean enough by the city crews. The old wardheeler, by all accounts quite a showman, purchased a street

TWENTY—TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF

Successful organizing:

The Lake View Citizen's Council

MIRIAM B. RODIN



Miriam B. Rodin is an instructor in the school of Public Health at the University of Illinois at the Medical Center. She just completed her doctoral dissertation (an ethnography of the Lake View Community) this fall.

sweeper which he personally drove down the avenue.

The Charlie Weber stories, really local myths, are not necessarily factual, but they are important because they reflect and influence how people think and act. They are an unwritten history. Most of the accounts of local events state very clearly the themes that set Lake View apart from its neighboring communities, and underpin the Lake View Citizens Council.

Three themes recur in the Lake View stories; they are equally present in current LVCC attitudes, as expressed by Rev. Bruce Young, the president: leadership, self-help, and success.

Leadership

The community can look back upon a continuous line of leadership stretching back over at least fifty years. Earlier leaders were frequently linked to an institution like a church, such as the pastors of St. Andrew's, Temple Shalom, St. Luke's and St. Sebastian's. They were known not only for their service to their own congregations, but for their sponsorship of community-wide programs. According to Young this is also true of more recent secular leadership.

The kind of person who rises to leadership in Lake View fits no stereotype. They include housewives, lawyers, welfare recipients and union craftsmen, old and young.

The Council was formed in 1952 by an east side housewife determined

to close offensive bars on Broadway. According to Young this is also true of more recent secular leadership.

Self-Help

Until the fifties, most civic activities in American communities were run by businessmen, clergymen and elected officials. Stimulated by the civil rights movement, the sixties brought a trend towards grassroots organizations which were eager to exercise people power in local affairs. This shift occurred early after the founding of LVCC. As forty-fourth Ward Committeeman John Merlo describes it, "years ago [you] just announced new things. Now people are asked to participate through their churches and organizations. People are different now. They know what they're doing."

Young feels there are still tensions over approaches to organizing, decision-making and methods used to resolve issues. "The Council is divided between those who take a grassroots style and those who prefer a small group of elite decision-makers. LVCC was not founded as an Alinsky style organization. Some of the Alinsky approach came in in the early seventies. It's a struggle between those who prefer to just call up the people in the system they know, and those of us who believe that the only power is through grassroots organizing. The two types can't co-exist. People must learn to organize and

protest when the system isn't responsive. Button-pushing doesn't work over a long period of time... It is a short-cut to real organization. You need to build a constituency."

The current LVCC leadership majority, led by Young, believes that self-help is learned by letting the people make mistakes, and by selecting leaders who are effective and who will push for change.

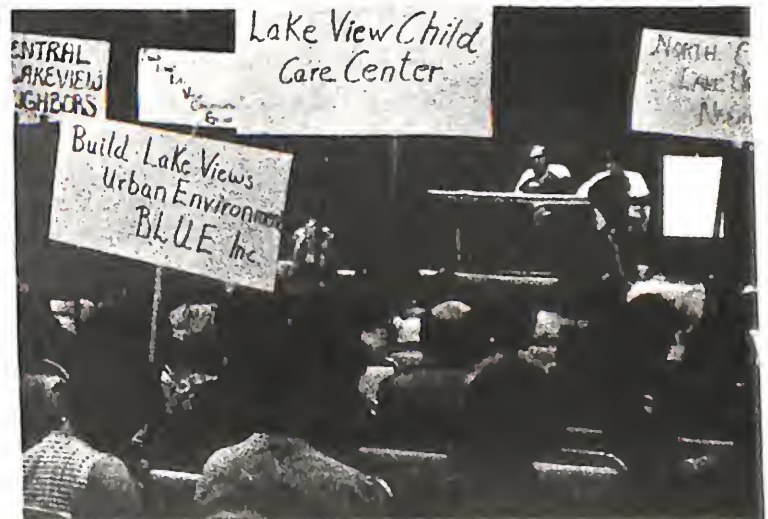
Organizing staff is seen as the key to the grassroots approach. LVCC's staff consists of a paid full-time executive director, a full-time office manager and several part-time organizers paid through the federal CETA program. Differing perceptions of staff roles have been a source of conflict within LVCC.

While Rev. Young feels that there is a clear dichotomy between elite vs. grassroots approaches to organizing, others do not. Some feel that to the extent that LVCC membership represents a cross-section of the residential and institutional community, board members are charged with representing the interests of community segments. Yet there is little evidence of an arrogant disdain for the power of grassroots action; rather there appears to be only a dislike for the slower method of grassroots action and an impatience to see an immediate response to community needs.

LVCC has local neighborhood affiliates which act independently on matters of specialized concern; and join



President Bruce Young welcomes Hannah Gordon, 1st LVCC president to 25th Annual Meeting.



LVCC Annual Meeting

together on larger issues. This adds flexibility and allows overall screening and channeling of demands.

The effectiveness of grassroots organizations is a question of power. Young is philosophical. "Not all groups have power. Some think they do and they don't. Power can be a fantasy. There is awe and respect for LVCC that is not always warranted. It's the result of a lot of effort that our name is known."

Success

Lake View has a tradition of success against which it judges the present. The people readily testify to the beauty, vitality and uniqueness of their community, without overlooking the shortage of family housing, the presence of slumlords, insurance red-lining and over-development along Lake Shore Drive near the lake. Improving public education runs a close second as a key issue.

The success story of how Lake View and LVCC beat Urban Renewal is a saga which reminds people what organization and unity can do. Charlott Newfeld, a LVCC member, has called it "our finest hour."

As told by Newfeld and Dan Crowe, another LVCC member, the central area of Lake View around St. Sebastian's Church was designated an urban renewal district in 1970. Even that recently, urban planners did not apply the principles of selective weeding of inadequate buildings, and treat urban renewal and conservation as a gardener tends his vegetable patch. The earliest programs were crude, bulldozing entire communities, slashing apart the fine mesh of neighborhoods.

This had just happened immediately south of Lake View in Lincoln Park and many Latino families had been displaced to Lake View after their homes were levelled. This had been their second helping of urban renewal, for many of these families had been pushed aside when the Sandburg Village housing project went up further south. Now they were about to lose their third community, Lake View. Relations between the Latinos and their blue-collar German, Irish and Scandinavian neighbors had not been smooth. To the urban renewal planners, however, both the new and the old settlers were equally in the way of "progress."

A newly-elected slate of LVCC officers faced the urban renewal issue. It presented the novices with a massive task, but it was accepted and they decided to fight. Today this doesn't seem remarkable, but at that

time organized resistance to urban renewal was a rare event. No blueprint existed to guide the community. What had happened to Florence Scala and the Italian neighborhood swallowed up by the new campus of the University of Illinois? Or the old West End of Boston? Our cultural variants of the pyramids stand as monuments to their defeat.

LVCC decided on a two-part strategy. One task force had to find a legal basis for gaining local control of the planning process. The other had to organize a constituency to exercise that control. The job required several months of sustained work. Explains Young, "Most LVCC projects have taken at least a year. It was five years on the four-plus-one issue (preventing a shoddy form of apartment construction), nearly that on downzoning." In 1970, there wasn't time, only one summer.

The cast of characters cuts across many segments that so often split on lesser problems. It includes long-time community activists like Carl Wirtz from South Lake View, Father Carl Lezak of St. Sebastian's Church, Dan Crowe from Belmont Harbor, Charlotte Newfeld of East Lake View, Juan Morales and Mario DeJuan of the Latin American Coalition. There were dozens of others. A swing event was Carl Wirtz' proposal to LVCC that the Latin Coalition be invited onto their board. The Coalition accepted. The community was united.

The strategy was to use provisions in HUD guidelines to stack the citizen's conservation board with local people committed to the community rather than city hall. A slate was drawn up that included representatives of ethnic, socio-economic, geographic and other segments of Lake View. The next job was to get the slate accepted by "the mindless bureaucrats" as DUR officials were described.

Community and political decisions in Chicago are not often made publicly. They are decided downtown, on the phone, or in closed-door meetings, usually well before cosmetic, rush-job hearings. The Lake View Organizers took the daring step of demanding that hearings be held in the community, and in the evening when working people could attend. While Young contends that elite and grassroots approaches cannot co-exist, in the urban renewal fight they did. Apparently, the ability of a few eastiders to call up and deal off the record with city officials was crucial, given the lack of time for other strategies. But the ultimate weapon was indeed the grassroots response, the result of intense

organizing among the people of the neighborhoods.

The meeting of Lake View people and Urban Renewal officials in St. Sebastian's hall was momentous. The room was crammed with close to 70 people. The people were quite prepared to state their opinions and so passionately, in Spanish and English. Father Lezak gave a particularly memorable call for action. The effect on city representatives was stunning. They had seldom been confronted by people on their own home ground, nor had they ever dealt with an assertive contingent of Latino Urban Renewal and its agents withdrew in disarray to consider the volume of proposals, demands and alternatives slapped on them. In the end they did not come back. The sturdy Lake View homes were saved.

Since then the LVCC has undertaken local initiatives for conservation ranging from code enforcement against slumlords to the establishment of BLUE (Building Lake View's Urban Environment), a local housing construction and renovation program. The Campaign to Control High Rises was the nation's first downzoning ordinance to control soaring building densities on the east side. Now and then Lake View groups approach the city for service on locally initiated projects. City officials appear to have developed a wary respect for the citizens of Lake View and their umbrella, LVCC. Typically, last spring when then Acting Mayor Bilandic was intercepted by a contingent from Lake View, he is reported to have smiled thinly and said,

"I see it's my friends from Lake View again."

As Young sees it, the greatest dangers LVCC faces are "leadership losing touch with their constituency, avoiding the hard work of organizing people, and failure to do sufficient research on a landlord, on City Hall, on the Chicago Housing Authority, on the school system. There are also repercussions from the system that you have to be prepared for."

The LVCC is an unusual grassroots organization in that it has survived and remains vigorous and controversial after 25 years. Young and other LVCC old-timers refer readily to the sustaining power of the council. "It convinces people of its viability. It has financial support. People run for office. LVCC survives because it achieves... it continues to respond and change. The board never stays the same over time. People come to live here and they get involved; they are committed to the community. People have immense staying power."

FOCUS/Midwest

Organizing the Lake View Latin American community

JOSE L. GUTIERREZ-VARGAS

Latino community organizations in Lake View were founded by social service professionals, priests, and ministers who formed self-directing citizen, volunteer, and laymen groups to exercise control over public service agencies in the neighborhood. This came about partly because of the conditions which forced so many Latin Americans to settle in Lake View in the 1960's along with the sudden creation of agencies which had not previously existed in the community.

In the neighborhoods just south of Lake View, the municipal government expropriated and demolished the "deteriorating structures" that low-income Puerto Rican workers had called home during the 1950's, then auctioned the vacated lots to private redevelopers who hoped to attract higher-income people back to the central city. Thus dislodged Puerto Ricans, fleeing the municipal government's bulldozer approach to urban renewal, flocked into Lake View's low rent districts alongside dispossessed Cubans fleeing their own government's schemes for the future. Concurrently, significant but lesser numbers of Mexican, Central and South American workers, attracted to the U.S. cities by the war boom of the 1960's, streamed in to partake of it in Lake View's better than average slums.

According to the census figures, Latin Americans, not counting illegal aliens, came to comprise 17% of Lake View's population in the short space of a single decade. Consisting mostly of recently displaced low-income people, any professional social services

offered to them seemed helpful.

During the 1960's, most public service professionals were attached to the neighborhood churches, the Jane Addams Center of the Hull House Association, and municipal government programs like the Community Youth Worker Program. Originally, professionals of the Jane Addams Center did not facilitate Latino participation or control of its operations because, as its current director explains, "its Director at that time established *Una Puerta Abierta* (The Open Door, a Latino jobs agency) as its Spanish Outpost on Halsted in order to keep the Latinos away from the Center on Broadway." Participation by Latino citizens and clients in the decision-making structures of *Una Puerta Abierta* had to await the appointment of Bruce Young, a former Presbyterian minister to directorship of Jane Addams Center in 1969.

In a similar fashion, the Community Youth Workers employed by the City of Chicago did not facilitate citizen control of their programs until one of its workers, a youth named David Hernandez took his job seriously and tried to mediate a dispute between 19th District policemen and Latin Eagles gang members. He was reprimanded for his efforts. He subsequently resigned his position as a Youth Worker during a public rally organized on his behalf, secured funds from the Methodist Church to rent a storefront, and set up the Latin Eagles Organization, later renamed *La Gente* (The People), which became involved in a variety of programs including feeding

hungry families in Lake View. It was only with this new program that any control was gained by the community.

Organizing Latinos

The job of organizing Latinos to exercise greater control over the social service agencies fell primarily to public service professionals attached to the neighborhood churches. In the early 1960's, a young Latino VISTA worker attached to the Lake View Presbyterian Church, organized a community group named the Organization of Latin Americans to curb police harassment of Latino Youth. Latin leaders like Rev. Fines Flores claim that this was the precursor of the Lake View Latin American Coalition of the 1970's but it died with no direct organizational descendants.

But in 1967 a newly ordained Latino priest, Alfredo Sanchez, organized social and religious action groups at St. Sebastian's Catholic Church which would provide the lay leadership not only for the parish but for the major community organizations of the future.

Latino organizations at St. Sebastian's grew where the Organization of Latin Americans withered because the Latino priest organized self-directing laymen's groups to control facets of his own, rather than another's bailiwick. For one, he could guarantee the laymen who agreed to join these groups that their decisions would have public impact. For example, when he organized a liturgical planning committee, he could guarantee that their deci-

Page Twenty-nine

ized "visiting committees" to go door to door asking members why they did not attend. Its new president had resigned, and its vice president and treasurer co-chaired the demoralized little meetings. By the summer, the Coalition's funds ran out, and its executive director was forced to organize a "Friends of the Coalition" Committee among leading Chicago Latinos to raise funds to cover expenses. The Committee organized a benefit that Fall. The funds it raised — \$2,352 — proved to be insufficient.

Meanwhile, the Coalition's customary monthly meetings were suspended as the visiting committees failed to spark support. The Coalition would become more and more absorbed with its own organizational survival.

What led to this collapse? Some observers have singled out the private redevelopers as the culprits. "Even without the aid of the Department of Urban Renewal," they explain, "the private redevelopers have decimated so much of the lower-income Latino community in Lake View that they have deprived the Coalition of its base." But what these observers fail to account for is the growth of the Latino population in different neighborhoods within Lake View to the west and north of those where Latinos used to predominate. They also fail to account for the growth in the number of Latino home owners all over Lake View. Why hasn't the Coalition organized these people?

What observers have also failed to account for is that the Coalition's membership never consisted primarily of the indigent. Most of the leaders and leading members that guided and supported the Coalition during its heyday still reside in Lake View. Many, in fact, own their own homes. Most of its leading low-income members, moreover, became beneficiaries of the Coalition's success in obtaining CHA (Chicago Housing Authority) rent subsidies or low-cost apartments in public housing sites scattered throughout the neighborhood. In fact, most of the leaders and leading members of the Coalition's heyday remain organized, albeit within the Latino parish groups at St. Sebastian's. One can still meet most of them by attending St. Sebastian's Spanish Mass on any Sunday.

Recent years have seen the organizational successes of the most potent of those groups, the St. Sebastian's Charismatics, Mario de Juan, who remains an ordained lay deacon at St. Sebastian's, recently organized Latino parishioners into a branch of this Cath-

The chief purpose for building community organizations at the neighborhood level is to create structures accessible enough to permit ordinary people to exercise their powers of self-determination.

olic Pentacostal Movement. So potent has this organization become that they overcame the initial and protracted refusal of an overwhelming majority of priests and fellow deacons to allow them to use the church.

Some observers, of course, may be tempted to claim that too many of the Coalition's former members have become absorbed in religion. The fact is, however, that many of these former Coalition members remain active in community organizations that require citizen participation in their decision making structures. One of these is the *Asamblea Abierta* the Spanish-language counterpart of the 44th Ward Assembly whose main function is to provide the Ward's Spanish-speaking constituency with direct access to control over the Alderman's legislative and public service projects.

The author, himself a member of Mt. Carmel Parish's Latino organizations, succeeded in organizing the *Asamblea* thanks to the active support of prominent members of St. Sebastian's socially conscious Latino organizations. At one time or another all of these parish (lay) leaders including Mario de Juan, Moises Ramos, Felipe Perez, Manuel Dominguez, Carlos Ortiz, and Maria Sotomayor have also been leading members, if not actual leaders of the Lake View Latin American Coalition. Thanks to their ability to muster support among the followings they had succeeded in attracting through their involvement in both religious and secular organizations, the *Asamblea Abierta* has grown at about the same time that the Coalition's membership base has withered. Most of the *Asamblea's* active members, in fact, consist of former Coalition members.

The cause of the Coalition's collapse can be found much closer to home. It was, simply, that control of it passed out of the hands of unpaid community leaders. In May of 1973, paid Latino social service professionals replaced the lay administration of Mario de Juan. The Coalition's executive committee never again contained

even a plurality of laymen. Ever since May 1973, the preponderance of executive committee chairs have been occupied by petty bureaucrats attached to Latino social service agencies which, in many cases, the Coalition itself established in the neighborhood. Thus, for example, the Coalition executive Committee in May of 1973 consisted entirely of the directors of the neighborhood social service agencies that had joined the *Centro Latino* just the February before. Of these, neither the president nor the vice president resided in Lake View.

By taking control of the Coalition, the social service professionals of the 1970's reversed the trend towards greater community control and self-direction that their professional counterparts of the 1960's had sought to institute. The professionals exposed the organization to direct pressure from their own institutional superiors and their priorities, and thereby exposed the Latino community in Lake View to manipulation and direction by interests alien to its own. This in itself militated against the Coalition's growth and eventual survival.

Moreover, by taking control of the Coalition, the social agency professionals also denied the community residents access to genuine self-directing experiences. In so doing, they deprived the community of an essential means of discovering and acclaiming leaders from among its own, and thereby deprived the organization of new blood.

From this perspective, the chief purpose for building community organizations at the neighborhood level is to create structures accessible enough to permit ordinary people to exercise their powers of self-determination. This often demands restraint on the part of those who work full time on local issues and with local institutions. Rather than simply guiding, helping and advising, it is all too easy for them to replace the leadership of volunteers with their own. Lake View Latino organizations flourished by attracting and retaining community people to control and lead these communal organizations. But under professional control they withered. The struggle to organize Latinos in Lake View bears witness to this fact.

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sion to participate in its planning sessions would result in regular Spanish language Masses for all Latin Americans in the neighborhood.

Moreover, because he organized these groups to be self-directing, he created a means whereby the lay constituency could identify and acclaim leaders from among its own. As these leaders, in turn, learned that the decisions of laymen's groups could have public impact, they began to mobilize these groups to participate more actively in the direction of public affairs.

Thus through such groups as the liturgical planning committee, the *Cursillistas*, the *Caballeros*, *Damas* and *Juventud Revolucionaria* of St. Sebastian's, Latino men, women and youth attracted their neighbors to the emerging parish community, identified problems that they shared, and learned to mobilize their forces in response to those problems. Since each mobilization required leadership and direction, the parish organizations also proved a training ground for laymen.

By 1969, lay leaders among Latinos were forming their own autonomous neighborhood organizations. Latino parishioners at St. Sebastian's, responding to the message of the social gospel they had imbibed as *Cursillistas* joined together in a Social Action Committee to initiate and maintain regular collections and distributions of food and clothing to the neighborhood's poor. St. Sebastian's parishioners Mario de Juan and Juan Morales, responding to the same message and to the plight of Latino children in their neighborhood school, formed a block club named *Comunidad Latina* that succeeded in pressuring politicians to approve funds for the construction of a new school to alleviate the overcrowded conditions of the old.

Activating *La Gente*

By the Spring of 1969, David Hernandez had succeeded in organizing *La Gente* into a militant social activist coalition of former Latino street gang members, welfare mothers, and other people from among the impoverished Latino, Indian and Appalachian population of Lake View. In the summer of 1969, young Latino toughs led *La Gente* to storm an Illinois Masonic Hospital board of directors meeting with a list of grievances and demands that resulted in the establishment of the neighborhood's first drug abuse program.

That same year, *La Gente* collaborated with other neighborhood groups in protests that led to the ouster of the director of the Jane Addams Center, and to the advent of Rev. Bruce Young as the new director. With

the new administration, the director of the Center's Spanish Outpost sought more Latino representation for *Una Puerta Abierta's* Policy Recommending Committee from among the Outpost's clientele. From the Outpost's need to create a Policy Recommending Committee from among its popular constituency, *Comunidad en Accion* coalesced.

Thus by winter of 1969, Latino neighborhood organizations had not only grown but grown stronger. In November of that year all Latino organizations, religious and secular, made common cause with the Lake View Citizen's Council in demanding community control over urban renewal plans for Lake View. Later those plans were derailed. All through this period Latino organizations had been fighting on a variety of other fronts such as pressuring for hot lunch programs for local school children at Nettlehorst School under the leadership of *La Gente*, and at LeMoyne under the leadership of *Comunidad Latina*. All had joined together in lobbying with other Illinois Latino organizations for the passage of the Bilingual Education Act. Similarly, and in varying combinations, they had all pressed slumlords for tenants' rights to decent living conditions.

By 1970, the idea of a formal federation of Latino organizations had gained currency among community lay leaders and service professionals alike. That year, leaders of *Comunidad Latina* and *Padres de LeMoyne* sought funds from church sources to hire a common organizer and establish a central service office.

Federating All Organizations

The idea got its greatest boost, however, after the leaders of *Comunidad en Accion* and Tony Irizarry, director of *Una Puerta Abierta*, jointly called for the support of all other Lake View Latino organizations in exposing a police shakedown scheme against a Latino businessman named Arroyo. During that time, Tony Irizarry seems to have pushed hard for the idea of a federation of all Latino organizations that would allow quick coordination

Because he organized these groups to be self-directing, he created a means whereby the lay constituency could identify and acclaim leaders from among its own.

of all future community mobilizations. Leaders listened as they experienced the strains of coordinating the mobilization of their various organizations from October of 1970 until the victory in May of 1971. By June, their efforts at convincing the Catholic Campaign for Human Development to finance their plans for a common organizer and service office paid off with a \$14,900 grant that would be renewed for three years.

In June, *Comunidad Latina*, *Comunidad en Accion* the *Caballeros de San Juan*, and the *Padres de LeMoyne* incorporated the Lake View Latin American Coalition. By organizing around issues with which all Latinos could identify, community leaders who were neither priests nor social service professionals galvanized the Latino population in Lake View into a united and often victorious community.

Under the two-term administration of an electronics technician named Mario de Juan, the Coalition continued to grow in strength. Pressure from its Health Committee got Illinois Masonic Hospital to institute a low-cost ambulatory care unit christened St. Sebastian's Clinic. In collaboration with the Lake View Mental Health Council, it established bilingual counseling services at the Council's Spanish outpost. Its Education Committee convinced the City Colleges of Chicago to create an adult education center in Lake View for Latino adults named *Universidad Popular*. In collaboration with the Hull House Association, it co-sponsored the transformation of *Una Puerta Abierta* from the settlement house it had been to the full time employment center it is today.

In the area of social justice, meanwhile, it obtained Latino lawyers to work as part of the Lake View Citizen's Council legal aid clinic. It exposed criminal housing mismanagement both in and out of court. By proving that Puerto Rican foods are domestic rather than imported products, the Coalition won a case that forced Chicago area food stores to allow public aid recipients to purchase them with food stamps. In another case, this time involving Latino voter rights, the Lake View Latin American Coalition won a landmark decision that required the Chicago Board of Election Commissioners to print bilingual versions of all its materials. Thus the Coalition achieved city-wide acclaim as one of the most effective Latino organizations in Chicago.

By the winter of 1975, however, the Coalition lay moribund. Its membership meetings attracted hardly a soul. The few that did attend organ-

The "Bootheel" of southeast Missouri is a region of tremendous contrasts. The richness of the Mississippi River delta soil, used to grow cotton and soybeans, is in stark contrast to the poverty faced by many Bootheel families who once worked the land as farmworkers, sharecroppers or family farmers.

They were driven from the land by the tractors and combines that now criss-cross the fields of the corporate farms. The lovely homes and yards of the landowners, financiers and professionals contrast sharply with the overcrowded and run-down houses of many of the poor. The lily-white and well-serviced neighborhoods of the well-to-do in cities like Kennett (pop. 10,000), and Caruthersville (pop. 7,350), and small towns like Marston (pop. 1,000), and Steele (pop. 2,000)

way too, especially motivating people to help themselves... it helps to expand people... we've come a long way, but still have a long way to go... the ministry is strictly for the people, and hopefully by the people."

MDEM's work focuses on Pemiscot, New Madrid, and Dunklin Counties, in the southeastern corner of Missouri. It is definitely a "deep south" region, bordered by Arkansas on the west and south, and by the Mississippi River, Tennessee and Kentucky on the east. The population of the three counties is approximately 80,000, almost half of whom receive some form of public assistance. About 20% of the area's population is black, the great majority of whom live in severe poverty. Statistics concerning educational levels, health problems, and income all show the Bootheel to be the most depressed

having grown into the largest law firm in southeast Missouri, a larger organization than MDEM itself. BALAP has won or gained favorable settlements in significant public interest cases involving school financing, housing and welfare, as well as providing legal services to many hundreds of low-income families. It now operates independently, with a board of directors made up mostly of clients.

But all the spin-offs have had tough struggles, and some haven't made it. Much of the difficulty can be traced to the inexperience of the Bootheel's low-income community. Sometimes programs have gone under because of internal dissension over who's on the board or who's on the staff. Sometimes the optimism of program planners was no match for the local realities.

Supreme Court in order to knock down the Caruthersville Public Schools' policy of charging school registration and course fees, a suit which gained the group support, credibility and hostility all at the same time. The Concerned Parent organization has also organized community-based tutoring and summer youth programs, and has "spun-off" another self-help group known as "Mothers and Kids in Action," which involves young mothers in encouraging the learning and development of their own children.

Several of the other community groups assisted by MDEM deal primarily with neighborhood improvement, including such issues as housing, sewage, drainage, streets, parks, zoning and employment. One example of a group which has had an

MDEM takes the lead, such as issues of gas, electricity, and telephone rates and services. MDEM community organizers, have encouraged record numbers of low-income consumers to participate in Public Service Commission rate hearings in the Bootheel, and MDEM technical staff, supported by legal aid staff, have provided effective testimony and cross-examination at state PSC hearings in Jefferson City. In this particular area, MDEM has been able to forge rare alliances with middle-income people and some public officials, who share their concern over rising utility rates.

Consumers have gained surprising victories involving rates, rate design, and billing practices, while learning about their rights. MDEM Board member Irmgard Jones, a German immigrant widow, filed a successful formal

to lose a job, a check, or a scarce public housing unit. Controversary surrounds MDEM. Many people simply don't want to get involved. One of the frustrations of MDEM's organizing efforts has been the difficulty of involving poor white people. Most of the neighborhood groups are all-black, or almost all-black; none are mostly white. While low-income white families do participate actively in many social service programs, only a handful have gotten involved in efforts to change the system through organizing.

As everywhere, many low-income communities in the Bootheel are split by internal politics, in-fighting, jealousies and personality conflicts. Inevitably, MDEM and the neighborhood groups related to it become involved in or affected by these community dynamics, and for better or worse,

MDEM community organizers Corrine Camp (left) of Pascola and Glendell Banks of Marston discuss their work in front of the MDEM building in Hayti.



Rural organizing in the Missouri bootheel

LARRY LEVINE

contrast with the poor neighborhoods on the "other side" of those towns, mostly black, often lacking paved streets, adequate sewage and drainage, and even street names and street signs.

It was in this traditional deep south atmosphere that the Missouri Delta Ecumenical Ministry was born in the 1960's, part of the nationwide anti-poverty and church reconciliation movement. MDEM (pronounced "em-dem") was created by a few local clergymen, church leaders and poor people ready "to attack the root causes of poverty." As Helen Boswell, a low-income widow from Steele (and the only person to have served on the MDEM board of directors from the beginning until today), remembers: "MDEM started as a small group of people believing the same thing and trying to make other people see that

rural area in the state, and one of the poorest rural areas in the entire country.

Spin-Off Corporations

Over the years, MDEM has experimented with various ways to "attack the root causes of poverty," always stressing people helping themselves, rather than providing hand-outs to the poor or direct social services. Some of MDEM's efforts have been very successful, others simply didn't work.

For several years, MDEM emphasized the development of independent "spin-off" corporations — a legal services program, a community credit union, cooperatives, a job training corporation, and a welfare rights and advocacy organization. The Bootheel Area Legal Assistance Program (BALAP) is an outstanding success,

More recently, MDEM's program has concentrated more on grassroots organizing around neighborhood or regional problems, on "motivating, educating and assisting low-income people to improve the conditions of their own communities by influencing the public policies and economic opportunities which affect them," according to MDEM's current statement of purpose.

Much of this work involves providing organizing and technical assistance to organizations in low-income neighborhoods. Some of the organizations focus on issues related to education and youth. One example is Caruthersville Concerned Parents, an organization of low-income black parents which has made significant gains. It was this group, assisted by the legal aid staff, which went to the Missouri

impact is the New Town Improvement Organization (NTIO) in the black section of New Madrid. The organization is small in numbers, but has succeeded in pushing the City to improve sewage disposal, pave the streets, add a park and establish a community building, and has opened up downtown employment opportunities to the black community for the first time. NTIO has been successful in persuading the City to act, but some members now think the time has come to think bigger. As Vice President Daryl Black put it: "We can't just stop now... it's time for our organization to get more self-sufficient... it's good to have a place to go for help, but when you run out of places to go for help, you need to be able to do things for yourself, rather than kill a project."

In certain issues of regional impact,

complaint with the PSC and overturned an Arkansas-Missouri Power Company policy on security deposits, which placed a real burden on low-income families. "Somebody had to," she explained later. "There's a lot of people like me in the same boat. With your income limited to one check a month... big security deposits are impossible."

Resignation and Fear

Of course, aside the success stories, there are plenty of failures, and plenty of organizing efforts that have not yet produced results. Many people have difficulty in getting beyond the complaining stages and down to taking concrete action. Sometimes residents are resigned to their situation, as unfair as it may be, or are frightened that "rocking the boat" may cause them

considerable energy is spent on dealing with them, rather than the policies and powers which maintain conditions of poverty in the neighborhoods.

As might be expected, many "establishment" groups oppose MDEM's work, considering MDEM well-intentioned but misguided at best, or a destructive and unAmerican trouble maker at worst.

Ironically, much of MDEM's most hostile opposition comes from some local clergymen and church leaders, including leaders of local congregations of the very same denominations that endorse and support MDEM's ministry at the regional or national level. As a Catholic priest, Father Pat Wissman, who currently serves as the president of MDEM's board of directors, observes: "The work of our ministry is not shared in very much by local



MDEM board member Irmgard Jones of Hayti has been one of the leaders of efforts to hold down utility rates in the bootheel.



Supervisor Carrie Harris reviews work plans with teenage tutor Kim Trawick at Concerned Parents' summer youth program.



East Side Betterment Organization leaders J. M. Hayes (left) and Mitchell Wooden (center) review housing plans with Canthursville Mayor B. F. "Hot" Rogers.

churches for various reasons... even though many national religious bodies support us and make proclamations about activism in favor of social justice, very often the local congregations seem not to agree and seem to stress individual, personal salvation rather than the salvation of society." It is usually easier to support missionaries when they are working in someone else's community.

Much of the difficulty of organizing in the Bootheel stems from the rural and small-town nature of the area. In small towns, everyone knows everyone else, where they work and live, who's in their family. It's almost impossible to get quietly or anonymously involved in pushing for social change, and concern over the repercussions is widespread. The Bootheel has no local TV stations, and radio and newspapers do little on-site coverage of local events. So the use of the media to express community concerns is limited, and often controlled by the local establishment, the owners and the advertisers. Migration from rural areas like the Bootheel to major cities, like St. Louis, Chicago and Detroit has drained the region of many of the natural leaders in the community. The lack of a college in the area leads many of the brightest, and most energetic

young people to leave, often never to return except as visitors.

ORGANIZING MDEM

Over the years, MDEM's structure and participation has grown in size, and changed in composition. From a relatively small group dominated by white clergy originally from outside the area, MDEM has become an organization based in the local low-income community. The board of 21 includes representatives chosen by each of the community organizations related to MDEM, all from the local community. The remainder of the board consists of concerned clergy, business people, and low income residents. In all, about 75% of the Board is made up of low-income leaders, mostly from the black community.

The staff operates out of a \$65-a-month storefront building located in Hayti, and now numbers 15, including 2 VISTA volunteers. Most of the staff is from the local low-income community, while members of the technical resource staff tend to come from outside the area. The majority of the staff are community organizers, usually low-income people actively involved in community groups before joining the staff. There is a staff of four, one each in the areas of education; eco-

nomie development; and housing, utilities, and neighborhood development. A fourth combines supervision of the VISTA Project with reporting and writing for MDEM's community newspaper, called *Another Voice*, which has a circulation of around 4,000. Completing the staff are two office workers and an executive director. MDEM's budget for this year is just over \$125,000, raised through grants from nine religious denominations (including Protestants, Catholics and Jews), a few private foundations, VISTA, and concerned individuals around the country.

The struggle for social change in the Missouri Bootheel is uphill all the way. As Helen Boswell sees it, MDEM's greatest accomplishment over the years is "that it had the guts to go on... with all the misunderstandings, and all the opposition, we're still going strong... it's hard for a body to realize how much that means."

Larry Levine is executive director of MDEM. He spent several years in Brazil as a neighborhood organizer, program planner and trainer, and served as director of the Urban Fellows Institute, a social action research group in Schenectady, New York. He has also done staff work at the United Nations and the U.S. Congress.

A rehabilitation effort

Blue Hills Homes

In July, 1974, a not-for-profit corporation was established with the name Blue Hills Homes. Its immediate concern was housing, its primary focus was the Blue Hills neighborhood on the southeast side of Kansas City. Both the Board and the staff of BHHC have been and continue to be predominantly residents of the neighborhood. During the first three years of its existence, BHHC has grown and expanded both in size and in the scope of its vision and activities. In an effort to develop an integrated and balanced program to meet the concerns and challenges of an older neighborhood, BHHC has reached into the following areas:

Rehabilitation

Enabled by a series of small loans, BHHC began the process of purchasing and rehabing houses. In many instances, the homes were purchased from owners who were willing to accept a small down payment and carry the mortgage themselves. At the same time, BHHC was instrumental in having the neighborhood declared an area eligible for Section 312 loans. These loans are federal loans for rehabilitation that can be extended over a 20 year period at 3% interest. The Section 312 loans made it possible for BHHC to carry out a quality rehab program on each of its houses. Over a two year period, approximately 16 houses were rehabed in this manner. This activity began to attract attention both from the media and from the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

Property Management

Encouraged by this attention, BHHC developed a proposal to become the area managing broker for HUD properties in the Blue Hills area. After a six month period of negotiation which involved all levels of HUD, a contract was awarded in May, 1976, whereby BHHC assumed responsibility for managing all vacant HUD properties in Blue Hills, overseeing their re-

hab and having exclusive sales rights to market these properties. This brought approximately 100 houses under the management of BHHC in addition to the property owned and rented by BHHC. For the first time, BHHC was able to employ staff.

Service

BHHC's most recent grant comes from Title I of the Higher Education Act through Rockhurst College. Under this grant, BHHC will establish a Housing Service office that will perform an educational function on topics such as insurance, loans, mortgages, real estate

law and practices, public programs, housing maintenance, etc. The person staffing this office will also track the homes that are for sale or rent and maintain a similar list of potential buyers or renters. Referrals of residents with problems or concerns to appropriate agencies will constitute another important function of this office.

Reprinted from the Newsletter of the Missouri Housing Alliance. For more information about Blue Hills contact Pete Cole, Blue Hills Homes Corporation, 2414 Swope Parkway, Kansas City, MO 64130, 816-923-5111.

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VOLUME 2 NUMBER 7

BALAP Opens
Legal Aid Office
In Sikeston

BALAP has announced the opening of a new legal aid office in Sikeston which will serve low-income

ANOTHER
VOICE

THE STRUGGLE OF POOR PEOPLE
IN THE MISSOURI BOOTHEEL
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VOLUME 2 NUMBER 6

Medical Assistance For Disabled People

A U. S. Court recently ruled that SSI recipients in Missouri can

Welfare Law Helps Some,
Hurts Some, Confuses Everyone

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August 1977

AUGUST 1977

TWO target: the total community

LEON FINNEY, JR.

In the midst of surging discontent and raging injustice, during a time when residents had lived in a community long enough to see themselves as victims of exploitation on every hand, at a time when education, housing and consumer practices had been proven blatant inequities at the expense of the poor, The Woodlawn Organization was an idea whose time was right to be born.

Founded in 1960 by a small group of clergymen, block club leaders, property owners, tenants and businessmen, TWO set out to deal with the numerous problems confronting the community. Its early days were filled with action, protesting, outcry, marches and sit-ins. Very early on, TWO learned the vital difference between a "movement" and a viable, thriving organization. Its leaders recognized that a strong organization was essential to an ongoing development effort.

Over the years, TWO has grown from a fledgling grass-roots organization engaged in tactics of confrontation and pressure, to a prime mover with a membership of 115 block clubs, churches, youth groups, senior citizens councils, welfare alliances, businessmen's associations and property owners. TWO now deals with community concerns through programs which stress self-support and self-determination.

Each year the member organizations of TWO hold an annual convention to set organizational policy and programs for the ensuing year, elect officers and amend the organization's by-laws as needed.

Page Thirty-Six

Between conventions, the Delegates Assembly is the policy-making body of TWO. This Assembly is composed of two voting representatives from each member organization of TWO, and meets on a monthly basis. TWO's steering committee takes care of day-to-day affairs and is drawn from thirteen area and interest groups and TWO's standing committees.

In January 1972, TWO created a corporate subsidiary to serve as its housing and economic development arm. The Woodlawn Community Development Corporation's (WCDC) long-range programs include real estate and commercial development, manpower training and education, neighborhood improvement and conservation, and health care.

Current programs run the gamut from forcing response from recalcitrant government agencies to building and renovating much needed housing units in the area.

The Woodlawn Organization and WCDC view community development as comprehensive and all-encompassing. Indeed, to maintain the growth potential of the community, TWO formulated a twenty-year redevelopment plan which was made public last year.

This plan, which represented years of research and study, received widespread media coverage and support from many segments of the Chicago community who see it as a major contribution to the well-being of the city as a whole.

The plan takes a multi-pronged approach. The physical aspect includes new construction, rehabilitation of

existing structures, home improvement loan programs, and new commercial development ventures. Its social service component includes the expansion of skill training, job placement, day care services, health care, juvenile advocacy, child welfare and other facets of service delivery.

Projects in Operation

TWO/WCDC operates the following projects:

WOODLAWN GARDENS RESIDENTIAL DEVELOPMENT

TWO developed and owns a 504-unit residential development, financed under Section 221 of the National Housing Act for a total cost of \$9.5 million. This section generated considerable national criticism because of the high rate of default among not-for-profit sponsors. However, TWO avoided default in its operation and is paying all operating expenses and interest while maintaining high occupancy rates.

WOODLAWN GARDENS PLAZA

TWO developed and owns an 84,000-square-foot commercial plaza, leased to several business ventures, as well as a medical group and pharmacy.

TWO/HILLMAN'S SUPERMARKET

In 1970, TWO and a local supermarket chain formed a joint venture to establish a store in the Woodlawn Gardens Plaza, of which TWO owns 2/3. The store's annual gross sales were in excess of \$5 million, and TWO/Hillman's has been listed for four years as one of the 100 top black businesses in

FOCUS/Midwest

the nation by *Black Enterprise* magazine. Last year, TWO and Hillman's, Inc., opened another store in another part of the city.

TWO/SECURITY SERVICE

The security service is a 40-man licensed and armed private force that serves many of the residential developments, institutions and businesses in the Woodlawn community and surrounding areas.

OBSERVER NEWSPAPER

Initiated as a TWO house organ some 11 years ago, the *Observer* has grown over the years into a full-fledged community and area newspaper with a circulation of 35,000 weekly.

TWO/MARYLAND THEATRE

This theatre was donated to TWO by its owners seven years ago, and since that time has developed into a sound business venture and represents a major source of entertainment for the community.

JACKSON PARK TERRACE APARTMENTS

TWO developed, owns and manages this 322-unit building, financed through the Illinois Housing Development Authority at a total cost of \$8.08 million. Economic, class and racial integration has been accomplished at the apartments.

WOODLAWN REDEVELOPMENT

TWO sponsored the recently completed rehabilitation of 101 Woodlawn apartment units. It was financed through HUD at a cost of \$1.9 million.

In addition, TWO has developed and operates the following social service programs:

- A detoxification center for alcohol abusers;
- An adoption center, focusing on the hard-to-place wards of the State of Illinois;
- A vocational training center which provides skill training and job placement services to 350 men and women annually;
- A multi-service employment center which provides job placement, employment counseling, on-the-job training and skill training services to 300 men and women annually;
- A child abuse prevention and counseling center;
- A comprehensive employment program for senior citizens which provides some 75 jobs to senior citizens annually; and
- A headstart center and a day care center, both providing innovative educational opportunities for preschoolers and jointly serving over 200 children each day.

The organizers of TWO and WCDC are attempting, on a scale attempted in few other communities, to achieve the revitalization of blocks, buildings, and also the people of Woodlawn. Physical building provides the foundation for neighborhood revitalization, and human services must ultimately cement that redevelopment into the reality of the lives of the people who live and work in Woodlawn.

Leon Finney, Jr. is executive director of

TWO (since 1968) and has served simultaneously as president of the Woodlawn Community Development Corporation since its creation in 1972. He received his masters degree in community planning and development from Goddard College and is now working on a Ph.D. in the Nova University Program for Public Administration. He is a faculty lecturer at the University of Chicago and a field instructor at the U. of C. School of Social Service Administration. He is the author of a handbook on community development and organization.

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At LeMoyne School in Chicago, over two hundred parents are turning out for school functions sponsored by the parents' council. In 1975, ninety percent of those parents supported a boycott and closed down the school for two days, thus winning reinstatement of laid-off personnel. Organizing of parents at LeMoyne has been accomplished by the Lakeview Schools Coalition, a community-based group working for change in education.

Several years ago only a dozen or so parents came to an open house at LeMoyne School in Chicago. However, in 1976 over two hundred parents were turning out for school functions sponsored by the parents' council. In 1975, ninety percent of the school parents supported a boycott and closed down the school for two days, thus winning reinstatement of laid-off personnel. Organizing of parents at LeMoyne has been accomplished by the Lakeview Schools Coalition, a community-based group working for change in education.

An offspring in part from the Coalition, the Education Resource Center uses a different approach and tone. Recently, a small group of parents and teachers from the Attucks School on Chicago's south side traveled to the Center to work together making language and math materials for the home. In January, ERC's newsletter publicized thirteen workshops and described ways to build learning centers with triwall cardboard bookcases and dividers.

Chicago schools are segregated, reading scores are low, and buildings are old. Parents have little understanding of the problems and even less power in determining educational policies. Control of Chicago's twenty-seven districts and six hundred schools is highly centralized in an eleven member, mayorally appointed Board of Education. In the Lakeview District, enrollment dropped by almost 1500 students from 1973-75. Not only were families smaller; dissatisfied parents were seeking solutions through private schools. Of the seven public elementary schools, only one achieved the 8th grade national average score of 8.8 in reading while one school fell below the city average of 7.4. Lakeview High School scores fell 23% below the national average. Even the district's high Latino population could not account for the poor English-reading scores.

Many parents experience anger and frustration in their inability to effect change. Yet two community groups, the Lakeview Schools Coalition and the Education Resource Center have succeeded in reaching into the schools,

Two approaches to education —



Educational Resource Center Director Diane Sautter shows youngsters some musical instruments built from recycled items.

winning influence, and making some differences.

The Lakeview Schools Coalition

The five-year-old Coalition began primarily with an outreach oriented approach of organizing parents to battle the educational bureaucracy. In the process, they sometimes alienated some parents even as they involved others. Though LVSC certainly hasn't abandoned this approach, they have grown into a more service-oriented organization which combines resources for parents, teachers, and students with pressure to change the system. The Education Resource Center, just two years old, has focused on a cooperative approach bringing resources together to help teachers and parents develop more creative teaching methods.

The Lakeview Schools Coalition was spearheaded by Nancy Rodenski, an energetic, outspoken parent of four. When the Board of Education failed to request funds for the schools from a \$26 million rebate of state taxes to the city, Nancy and 50 or 60 other parents circulated petitions, called meetings, and gained city-wide attention — and action from the School Board. Though the schools failed to get the money, a committee had been activated and Rodenski, quickly recognized as a leader, was offered assistance by the Center for New Schools (a technical assistance group) to form the Lakeview Schools Coalition.

Parent Organizing:

Individual and Group Advocacy

The Coalition began with two different thrusts. The School Action Center acted as an advocate on individual problems, providing assistance to students and parents on issues ranging from special education transfers to protection of students' rights in dis-

The Educational Resource Center and the

ciplinary action. In one case, a school misplaced the records of a student going to Lane Technical High School. By the time his records were found, enrollment had been filled and his parents were told that his scores had not been high enough. But, after being pressed by Harris Meyer, LVSC's advocate, the principal changed his mind and admitted the boy to Lane. Such individual cases helped the Coalition identify general problems and seek solutions.

Organizing of parent groups, particularly the strengthening of parent advisory councils within each school, was another major activity. As at LeMoyne, the Coalition helped plan meetings, published a parent newsletter, made phone calls and conducted door-to-door interviews. At the Audubon School, parents had complained to the Board of Education for three years about the principal, claiming she restricted parents from seeing teachers and interfered with parent activities. The Coalition helped form an *ad hoc* group, organized a picket line in front of the school, and assisted in bringing in full media coverage. The campaign succeeded in getting the Board of Education to suspend the principal and to begin formal investigation of her performance. Such controversial campaigns, however, made other schools wary of the Coalition.

In a city-wide issue, the Coalition worked for guaranteed participation in the appointment of principals. LVSC then became one of the defendants in a law suit brought by the Chicago Principals' Association challenging Board of Education guidelines.

Then LVSC coordinated efforts to formulate alternate guidelines to meet requirements of the Illinois School Code, as required by the judge in the case. Eventually the state enacted legislation to open the door for parent participation in principal selection, al-

Lakeview Schools Coalition

BARBARA SULLIVAN, O.P.

though Rodenski criticizes the legislation as "gutless" because it failed to make participation mandatory.

Alternative School

The second initial thrust of the LVSC was the Lakeview Community School, established as an alternative school, a model for open-structured, innovative programs, and a haven for students having difficulty within traditional public schools. Twenty students, ages six to thirteen, worked on learning projects designed to emphasize basic skills and students' interests. A unique feature of the ungraded classroom was parent involvement. Parents were required to contribute many hours either in classroom activities or with fundraising, school maintenance, or development of learning materials.

Teachers evaluated students through anecdotal records of daily performance and the Iowa Basic Tests, the same tool used by the public schools. Though the growth of students could not be adequately documented, evidence indicated that students whose parents worked in the classroom progressed the most.

After four years of operation, the Community School did not re-open last September. The decision, essentially based on finances, came after long deliberation. The school operated on a \$30,000 budget but generated only \$3000 in income. Draining resources from other LVSC programs, the school served only a small number of students and had the least potential for drawing outside funding. Presented with the problem, the parents, who were predominantly a low-income group, could not agree on the issue or make the commitment for fundraising requested by the staff as a condition for continuing. For some parents the school had not been a viable alternative; others were so convinced of its value, they

are establishing their own program, the Sunflower School.

What LVSC has discovered is that what works very well in one situation may not work in another. In some instances, resources rather than pressures for change work. Barney Swett, director of the Coalition's Learning Resources Group, prefers the application of resources. His response to teacher requests is, "If you feel pressure is working, it's okay. If you feel it's not, then I can help you." This year he will have three CETA-funded assistants to develop a mobile unit of learning games for schools throughout the district.

The Learning Resources Group needs cooperation and not antagonism from administrators and school groups. Issues like ousting the principal at Audubon cultivated a hostile, threatening image. Now the Coalition often tries to keep a low profile. Moreover, Audubon cultivated a threatening image. Now the Coalition often tries to keep a low profile. Moreover, they feel that they can't speak for any group of parents. The organization has no membership, and interested people are encouraged to get involved with their own schools. "I've sat at too many meetings with six people voting, claiming to represent groups... Taking a stand on an issue creates animosity," says Nancy Rodenski. She advises groups that seek help, "We'll strategize with you, edit, print, help in any way — but you have to do it!"

Another lesson learned was the need to understand the history of a situation. When LVSC trained and organized a group of parent volunteers to assist teachers at the Hawthorne School, the PTA feared the creation of a rival school council. This was exacerbated by ethnic tensions because, unlike the existing PTA, most of the new support group were Latinos. PTA members also remembered the



Lakeview Schools Coalition Kathleen McLaughlin (far left) introduces teachers to some new materials.

years earlier by another community organization who brought in new members and leaders. To relieve this situation, the Coalition agreed to work cooperatively with the PTA, sponsoring a PTA Crafts Day to make learning materials while attracting Latino members to the council.

LVSC continues to expand its services. The newest are the Youth Employment Service (YES) and the Parent Involvement Press (PIP). YES evolved about a year and a half ago and during the first summer over fifty young people were placed in full- or part-time positions. While YES is not directly school related, it serves as a link with high schools for advocacy activities, relieves unemployment, and develops ties with local businesses that are a potential source of financial support.

The Parent Involvement Press and its publications, begun just this summer, reflect the Coalition's role as a center for information. A big problem for many parents is not understanding "educationese," the language of formal educators. PIP will address this and other gaps in communication by including articles from parents, teachers, and other administrators in each issue. A four-page insert contains a Spanish reprint of most articles. The first issue focused on parents' rights and the second will deal with desegregation.

Just five people staff LVSC's programs. They work with a fifteen-member board of directors who function in an advisory capacity. The board has not been directly responsible for raising LVSC's \$100,000 plus budget. Last year, almost 75% of the budget came from grants including \$20,000 from CETA and \$25,000 from the Joyce Foundation. This required much staff time in writing proposals and in fundraising.

The trend is toward more local

Continued on page 45

The Independent Precinct Organization and Citizen power in elections

BETTY SCHWARZ

It's 4:30 a.m. on another cold, dark, rainy election day in Chicago, and as you shut off the alarm clock you wonder why you've gotten involved in another independent campaign.

* * *

It all started back in 1968, after the McCarthy campaign. A group of campaign workers gathered to talk about why they had received only 20% of the vote in their attempt to elect delegates to the infamous 1968 Democratic convention. The problem, they decided, was that the Democratic machine was permanent — but they weren't.

Subsequent meetings led to the creation of the Independent Precinct Organization, a permanent volunteer organization committed to a philosophy that citizens should be educated and involved in the decision-making processes of government, and believing that elections are the most direct contact citizens have with these processes. Bob Houston, one of IPO's founders, remembers: "This was a radical philosophy in Mayor Daley's Chicago, the Chicago that had seen police riots in Grant Park, where most citizens' only contact with government was having the precinct captain fix a parking ticket or having a tree planted in the parkway."

To provide an alternative to the Democratic Party, IPO set out to build a cadre of volunteer precinct workers who would ring door-bells on behalf of candidates who had been endorsed by a two-thirds vote of the IPO members. Starting months before an election, a Citizens' Search Com-

mittee would begin to seek candidates. Bill Singer's candidacy for alderman of the 44th ward was the result of the first such Citizens' Search Committee, and with IPO's endorsement and subsequent campaign efforts, Singer was elected.

* * *

Now it's 5:30 a.m., and you're arriving at the church basement, your precinct's polling place, with your shopping bag full of posters, literature to hand out, credentials from the Chicago Board of Elections, and your list of voters in the precinct.

* * *

There's nothing like winning a campaign to help an organization grow. Singer's victory was followed by that of Constitutional Convention delegates Bernard Weisberg and Dawn Clark Netsch. Within a few years, there were fifteen IPO ward assemblies. The four elected officers from each ward assembly met with the general officers elected by the entire organization to discuss strategies, issues, plan endorsement meetings, training sessions, and implement decisions made by the general membership. The major premise of IPO is participatory democracy: the decisions which affect the members should be made by them.

IPO's officers are all volunteers; membership is open to anyone willing to make a personal pledge of time (to work on projects and campaigns) and money (dues range from fifty cents to ten dollars per month, depending on how much a member wishes to contribute). Today, IPO members

number 250, down from a high of 800 in 1972.

For the most part, IPO strives to elect government officials who reflect progressive views on social issues and who remain responsive to the electorate after attaining office.

* * *

After greeting the election judges and turning in your credentials, you go outside to engage in the first argument of the day with Max, the Democratic precinct captain. This one is about the correct distance from the polling place for the location of campaign posters. Having had the foresight to bring a tape measure, you prevail, but don't exult, it's still early in the day.

* * *

Some IPO members feel that an organization based almost entirely on the north side of Chicago should restrict itself to local campaigns, e.g., alderman and state representative. Others believe IPO bears a responsibility to inform the voters about the quality of candidates seeking wider office. Since membership varies from year to year, and from meeting to meeting, IPO's endorsements have ranged from ward alderman (a Chicago ward contains about 66,000 residents), to President of the U.S. Also hotly debated is the issue of whether IPO's effectiveness is enhanced by endorsing a slate of candidates or by working for a single candidate. (Next to working in elections, independents like best to argue.)

* * *

At 6:00 a.m. the polls open; you have checked the backs of the voting

machines to make sure all the dials are at zero, and now election day is really under way.

* * *

In 1972, IPO endorsed a populist newcomer, Dan Walker, for governor of Illinois. After his election, some felt that his campaign rhetoric turned to ashes. Not only were IPO members disenchanted, but so were the voters, and IPO's endorsement of Walker was an albatross to precinct workers for several elections.

More of IPO's endorsed candidates have won than have lost. Chicago's Democratic Party controls about 150 votes in each precinct; to counteract that, an independent candidate needs either a very strong campaign effort, some mistakes by the party candidate, or the assistance of the electoral quirk known as the "bullet vote" in state legislative races. In voting for state representative, a voter can give three votes to one candidate, 1½ votes to each of two candidates, or one vote to each of three candidates. Because independents usually run only one candidate in a district and the party runs two, mathematics are on the side of the independents for a change, and it is in these elections that IPO has been most successful. In 1977, there are independent state representatives in eight Chicago districts and independent state senators

Betty Schwartz is associate executive director of the Independent Precinct Organization; she has served in almost every capacity in election campaigns, including area chairperson, scheduler, fundraiser, and office manager in two aldermanic campaigns.

(with no bullet voting) in three.

* * *

By noon, only forty of "your" voters have come in to vote, so now you trudge from door to door, reminding your candidate's supporters to come to the polls.

* * *

IPO endorses candidates from both political parties. A significant victory for a Republican candidate was the

election of Bernard Carey as Cook County states attorney in 1972 and again in 1976. The states attorney's office is responsible for policing election day activities, and wresting this office from the long-time control of the Daley machine has contributed greatly to the reduction of election fraud and made it easier for independent candidates to get a fair count on election night.

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The Independent Precinct Organization and Citizen power in elections

BETTY SCHWARZ

It's 4:30 a.m. on another cold, dark, rainy election day in Chicago, and as you shut off the alarm clock you wonder why you've gotten involved in another independent campaign.

* * *

It all started back in 1968, after the McCarthy campaign. A group of campaign workers gathered to talk about why they had received only 20% of the vote in their attempt to elect delegates to the infamous 1968 Democratic convention. The problem, they decided, was that the Democratic machine was permanent — but they weren't.

Subsequent meetings led to the creation of the Independent Precinct Organization, a permanent volunteer organization committed to a philosophy that citizens should be educated and involved in the decision-making processes of government, and believing that elections are the most direct contact citizens have with these processes. Bob Houston, one of IPO's founders, remembers: "This was a radical philosophy in Mayor Daley's Chicago, the Chicago that had seen police riots in Grant Park, where most citizens' only contact with government was having the precinct captain fix a parking ticket or having a tree planted in the parkway."

To provide an alternative to the Democratic Party, IPO set out to build a cadre of volunteer precinct workers who would ring door-bells on behalf of candidates who had been endorsed by a two-thirds vote of the IPO members. Starting months before an election, a Citizens' Search Com-

mittee would begin to seek candidates. Bill Singer's candidacy for alderman of the 44th ward was the result of the first such Citizens' Search Committee, and with IPO's endorsement and subsequent campaign efforts, Singer was elected.

* * *

Now it's 5:30 a.m., and you're arriving at the church basement, your precinct's polling place, with your shopping bag full of posters, literature to hand out, credentials from the Chicago Board of Elections, and your list of voters in the precinct.

* * *

There's nothing like winning a campaign to help an organization grow. Singer's victory was followed by that of Constitutional Convention delegates Bernard Weisberg and Dawn Clark Netsch. Within a few years, there were fifteen IPO ward assemblies. The four elected officers from each ward assembly met with the general officers elected by the entire organization to discuss strategies, issues, plan endorsement meetings, training sessions, and implement decisions made by the general membership. The major premise of IPO is participatory democracy: the decisions which affect the members should be made by them.

IPO's officers are all volunteers; membership is open to anyone willing to make a personal pledge of time (to work on projects and campaigns) and money (dues range from fifty cents to ten dollars per month, depending on how much a member wishes to contribute). Today, IPO members

number 250, down from a high of 800 in 1972.

For the most part, IPO strives to elect government officials who reflect progressive views on social issues and who remain responsive to the electorate after attaining office.

* * *

After greeting the election judges and turning in your credentials, you go outside to engage in the first argument of the day with Max, the Democratic precinct captain. This one is about the correct distance from the polling place for the location of campaign posters. Having had the foresight to bring a tape measure, you prevail, but don't exult, it's still early in the day.

* * *

Some IPO members feel that an organization based almost entirely on the north side of Chicago should restrict itself to local campaigns, e.g., alderman and state representative. Others believe IPO bears a responsibility to inform the voters about the quality of candidates seeking wider office. Since membership varies from year to year, and from meeting to meeting, IPO's endorsements have ranged from ward alderman (a Chicago ward contains about 66,000 residents), to President of the U.S. Also hotly debated is the issue of whether IPO's effectiveness is enhanced by endorsing a slate of candidates or by working for a single candidate. (Next to working in elections, independents like best to argue.)

* * *

At 6:00 a.m. the polls open; you have checked the backs of the voting

machines to make sure all the dials are at zero, and now election day is really under way.

* * *

In 1972, IPO endorsed a populist newcomer, Dan Walker, for governor of Illinois. After his election, some felt that his campaign rhetoric turned to ashes. Not only were IPO members disenchanted, but so were the voters, and IPO's endorsement of Walker was an albatross to precinct workers for several elections.

More of IPO's endorsed candidates have won than have lost. Chicago's Democratic Party controls about 150 votes in each precinct; to counteract that, an independent candidate needs either a very strong campaign effort, some mistakes by the party candidate, or the assistance of the electoral quirk known as the "bullet vote" in state legislative races. In voting for state representative, a voter can give three votes to one candidate, 1½ votes to each of two candidates, or one vote to each of three candidates. Because independents usually run only one candidate in a district and the party runs two, mathematics are on the side of the independents for a change, and it is in these elections that IPO has been most successful. In 1977, there are independent state representatives in eight Chicago districts and independent state senators

Betty Schwartz is associate executive director of the Independent Precinct Organization; she has served in almost every capacity in election campaigns, including area chairperson, scheduler, fundraiser, and office manager in two aldermanic campaigns.

(with no bullet voting) in three.

* * *

By noon, only forty of "your" voters have come in to vote, so now you trudge from door to door, reminding your candidate's supporters to come to the polls.

* * *

IPO endorses candidates from both political parties. A significant victory for a Republican candidate was the

election of Bernard Carey as Cook County states attorney in 1972 and again in 1976. The states attorney's office is responsible for policing election day activities, and wresting this office from the long-time control of the Daley machine has contributed greatly to the reduction of election fraud and made it easier for independent candidates to get a fair count on election night.

* * *

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Back at the polling place, Max has become complacent in your absence, and you threaten to call the states attorney's office when you find him electioneering at the door to the polls. A complaint to the judges does the trick, and things quiet down during the long, rainy afternoon.

It isn't easy to raise money for an independent, politically oriented group in Chicago. The "establishment" isn't likely to support an organization that threatens the status quo. IPO maintains a small office with one paid staff member. The total annual budget is in the range of \$15,000 to \$17,000, about forty percent coming from dues and contributions, and the rest from organized fund raising.

IPO's annual First Ward Ball, a "re-formed" gala commemorating ward heelers Hinky Dink Kenna and Bath-house John Coughlin's turn-of-the-century saturnalias, raises \$6,000 to \$7,000; theatre parties, art auctions, pot-luck suppers provide the remainder. Although the financial report at steering committee meetings is usually one of impending disaster, the organization is not in debt.

Another round of door-bell ringing, and when you return to the polls, Max and his four assistant precinct captains are taking turns relaying "their" voters in cars to the polls. You don't have any assistance until a college student joins you at 5:15 p.m. to help with the count, and an umbrella is the only protection you have from the continuing rain.

Once an IPO-endorsed candidate is elected, the organization conducts public accountability meetings, supports legislation, polls public opinions, etc. Officials support IPO's fund-raising efforts and provide information on issues which IPO is considering endorsing. State legislators have had moderate success in passing bills in Springfield in areas such as electoral reform, consumer protection and housing preservation. The Chicago City Council is another story. Currently there are only four independent aldermen out of a total of 50. While these four introduce more ordinances than all the other 46 combined, few are passed, or indeed, even receive a hearing. Sometimes an idea "whose time has come" is co-opted by the administration, but generally no one outside of the circle of independent activists knows where the idea originated. Away from the Coun-

cil chamber, however, independent aldermen have partially realized their goal of citizen participation in government through the creation of zoning boards, the 44th Ward Assembly, and community service offices.

You make your last run of voters; most of your candidate's supporters have already voted. When you return to the polls there is some "four-legged voting" going on; Max is in the voting machine with an illiterate voter, "helping" him to pull the levers. You really must have a few words with the judges about this!

David Rosenthal, IPO's current executive director, believes that IPO has suffered from a problem common to liberal reform movements. "We have failed to reach beyond our local enclaves to coalesce with groups that may not be so liberal or reform-minded as we are. It is these coalitions which are going to mean the success or failure of the independent movement in the next few years."

IPO made no endorsement in the 1977 mayoral contest, passing up an opportunity to unite with independents in the black community and in the white working-class areas of the city. IPO also sat out the general election, refusing to support an independent Republican alderman mayoral candidate (who had been elected alderman with IPO's support), because he hadn't been independent enough in the City Council.

Some IPO members cherish the selectivity of the organization in making endorsements, claiming that IPO's choices will be more respected if they meet the high standards that members hold.

David Patt, IPO's electoral action director, disagrees. "A political organization must participate in the electoral process if it is to remain viable, and sometimes that means supporting a candidate who isn't perfect. There are a lot of people running for office, and most of them aren't perfect. IPO has an obligation to the voters to indicate which candidate is better when there is a distinction that can be made."

The polls close at 6:00 p.m. and you scrimmage with Max at the back of the voting machine to see the vote totals. Then the judges begin the long process of filling out countless reports, while you call in the results from your precinct to the campaign headquarters.

A great dream for many IPO members has been to elect an independent mayor in Chicago, to end the 46-year-long stranglehold of the Machine on the city's top administrative offices.

IPO has waged two enthusiastic campaigns for mayor: in 1971, on behalf of a Republican "good government" candidate; and in 1975, in the Democratic primary election in which Alderman Bill Singer confronted Mayor Daley in a classic reform-establishment battle. Both of these IPO-endorsed candidates received only 20 percent of the vote.

Late in 1976, when Mayor Daley died suddenly, machine aldermen waged internecine war in their search for the Boss' replacement, and finally settled for a publicly obscure but powerful alderman from Daley's home ward.

For independents, this seemed a golden opportunity to take over from a supposedly confused and demoralized Democratic organization. But Bill Singer withdrew from the primary because of lack of financial support, leaving five other candidates in the race, including a black state senator and a former congressman from a conservative white district, both of whom had long-standing ties to the Machine. The Machine's choice easily won the primary and the general election. Once again independents returned to dreaming.

The process of building independent political organizations ward by ward is slow. It means enlarging the independent bloc in Springfield and in the City Council by only a few more independents each election. When the movement began in 1968, it was thought that in a few years IPO would either fail miserably or complete the task of total political reform. The growth of an independent political base has proven to be a slower process. But as a compliment to the efforts of other community groups it is useful to capture at least a part of the government and place it on the side of change.

At 10:30 p.m. you join 175 other election day volunteers at the campaign headquarters to watch the results come in. You share stories about your experiences with precinct captains, judges, and voters. The preliminary figures show that your candidate is leading, and when Helen finally calls in from Precinct One, traditionally the last to report, with a 93 vote margin, it's a sure thing, and a tired cheer goes up for your winning candidate.

Theoretical Foundation for the neighborhood movement:

a review of three books

DICK SIMPSON

L. S. Stavrianos, *The Promise of the Coming Dark Age* (San Francisco: W. H. Freeman, 1976). 196 pp., \$4.95.

E. F. Schumacher, *Small is Beautiful* (New York: Harper & Row, 1973). 297 pp., \$2.95.

Robert Theobald, *An Alternative Future for America's Third Century* (Chicago: Swallow Press, 1976). 266 pp., \$3.95.

The most difficult thing about working in the neighborhood movement is that concentration on the problems of the local community and the sometimes petty politics of our organizations does not provide a broad understanding of the overall sweep of change in our society and the place of local efforts in the more general pattern. A spate of new books, none of which explicitly claims to be about the neighborhood movement, helps to provide this broader view and an economic, historical, and institutional analysis of what is happening.

Stavrianos contributes a historical perspective; Schumacher provides the economic and technological analysis; and Theobald explores what is required for a humanistic future. All three authors offer neighborhood leaders — immersed in day-to-day efforts to keep their individual organizations alive or to win their own battles — insights into the larger struggle to transform society to which they often, unknowingly, contribute.

L. S. Stavrianos prefaces his book with an overview of our time:

... this is rather the age in which man for the first time can turn from his age-old struggle for survival to a new struggle for self-fulfillment that will enable him to realize his humanity. *Homo sapiens* is on the way to becoming *Homo humanus*...

All the tumult and seeming chaos, when viewed in the light of historical perspective, can be seen to represent not only the death agonies of an old order but also the birth pangs of a new epoch — a new golden age which assuredly will outshine those of the past.

In referring back to the earlier, so-called

"Dark Age," Stavrianos points out that the period following the collapse of Rome "was anything but dark." It is true that during this period the Roman empire disintegrated (and obviously this was grim news to the Roman writers who chronicled the downfall), but, simultaneously, the values and institutions of our modern civilization were born.

Such an analysis is not new to medieval historians. However, it is new to the general reader and even to intellectuals who are unfamiliar with this period. Stavrianos' book is important, therefore, not because it offers a historical metaphor unknown to most readers, which helps us understand the twin process of disintegration and rejuvenation occurring simultaneously in our own society.

It is important further because the bulk of his book is devoted to reporting evidence from around the world that positive change and institution-building are occurring. He brings us news of ourselves as we struggle to create a better society.

Stavrianos, being familiar with Schumacher's work, begins with an account of the shift from "aristo-technology" to "demo-technology" or, to quote Schumacher, the effort at "reforming our technology in the directions of smallness, simplicity and nonviolence." Both authors focus upon sophisticated, decentralized, community technology allowing self-management and self-reliance. As a prime example of this effort Stavrianos reports on the Chinese experience in which abundant labor has been substituted for scarce capital and in which there has been a nationwide development of small rural industries and urban neighborhood workshops.

Stavrianos next investigates the move-

Dick Simpson is an associate professor of political science at the University of Illinois Chicago Circle Campus and Alderman of Chicago's 44th Ward. He is author of "Who Rules?" (Swallow Press, 1970), "Winning Elections" (Swallow Press, 1972) and "Strategies for Change" (Swallow Press, 1976).

ment from boss control to worker control in factories. He reports both management research studies of the last several decades and the practical experience with worker control in Yugoslavia, Israel, and Chile. Then considering the movement from representative to participatory democracy, Stavrianos focuses upon our own neighborhood movement in the United States and gives first place to the experiments of members of the National Association of Neighborhoods. In addition to the move towards neighborhood government, he catalogues parallel efforts of The Citizens Action League (CAL), Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now (ACORN), Ralph Nader's Public Citizen, Inc., Common Cause, and the National Conference on Alternative State and Local Public Policies.

Stavrianos ends his analysis with a consideration of the psychological movement from self-subordination to self-actualization. He includes in this discussion the theoretical work of the psychologist Abraham Maslow, the failure of the Russians to create "a new socialist man," and the Chinese success with the "ChaoYang Way" of education.

The appeal of *The Promise of the Coming Dark Age* is the range of facts and theories it reports and interprets to support its positive outlook about the future. Stavrianos not only provides a historical analogy unfamiliar to most readers but introduces many to little known research by economists, psychologists and students of management; reports on current experiments from Stowe Township, Pennsylvania, to remote Chinese villages; and concludes with three new Utopian visions. One may argue that this historical analysis is too superficial, that the research is reported too uncritically, or that the several dozen experiments around the world do not make a successful movement for change. But for those of us in the neighborhood movement, Stavrianos provides a historical justification and a theoretical understanding of what we are about and news of others engaged in this task that we have never heard of before.

Whereas Stavrianos' book covers many topics and synthesizes them, Schumacher's work is a more profound analysis. *Small Is Beautiful: Economics as if People Mattered* provides the metaphysics, or more precisely, meta-economics required to build an intellectual foundation for the neighborhood movement and for appropriate or intermediate technology.

Schumacher argues that we must "begin to see the possibility of evolving a new life-style, with new methods of production and new patterns of consumption: a life-style designed for permanence." The reason for this change is straight-forward: unlimited economic growth in a finite world is impossible. The basic resources are simply not available and the environment can no longer cope with the degree of interference brought by "modern" industries.

What is needed is a rediscovery of wisdom. "Wisdom demands a new orientation of science and technology toward the organic, the gentle, the non-violent, the elegant and beautiful." In short, we need a technology which is cheap, suitable for small-scale application, and compatible with creativity.

This leads Schumacher to ask why we shouldn't have "Buddhist Economics," that is to say, why must we have a western economics which considers men of no importance and human labor as something to be reduced and eliminated?

The Buddhist point of view takes the function of work to be at least three-fold: to give a man a chance to utilize and develop his faculties; to enable him to overcome his ego-centeredness by joining with other people in a common task; and to bring forth the goods and services needed for a becoming existence.

Such an economics would thus be concerned with full employment, the maximum of well-being with the minimum of consumption, and with the care and conservation of non-renewable goods.

Schumacher devotes much of his book to the problem of economic development and concludes that education and the people themselves who live in the world's two million villages are the greatest resources for development. His solution is to put the hundreds of millions of villagers to work in workplaces in their villages. These workplaces would have to be much less expensive than the "modern" factories of developed nations which are capital - rather than labor-intensive.

Yet, these workplaces would depend upon a fully modern (scientific) technology different from that of most villages - that is to say, an intermediate technology developed for small scale factories producing goods primarily for local consumption. Only a program of economic development which employs the entire population can succeed. It has the virtue of being also the most humane approach.

Much of what Schumacher proposes for the two million villages of developing nations has direct applicability to the neighborhoods, and particularly the poorer neighborhoods, of the so-called developed nations like the United States. Yet, he goes further to propose a new form of ownership of corporations which is neither the traditionally capitalist nor socialist prescription. He mixes the two in suggesting that management of the largest firms remain largely private but that half of their profits be controlled by a board of the local community where the firm is located. In short, Schumacher has considered economic problems from the small workplace in developing nations to the corporate giants of developed countries.

Many readers will be more convinced by Schumacher's arguments because he provides simple numerical proofs of his claims. He provides calculations, for instance, of the resources currently available and their rapid depletion. He calculates the magnitude of the development tasks and the obvious inappropriateness of a capital-intensive technology to such problems. Few readers will remain unconvinced that the technology usually proposed and applied in the developed countries cannot possibly succeed in its goals, and therefore they will conclude that Schumacher's intermediate technology deserves a full exploration.

The chief contribution of Schumacher, however, is in the realm of meta-economics - the explication of the assumptions of modern economics, modern science, and modern thinking generally. He goes further to point to ways in which alternative assumptions from religions such as Buddhism and Christianity could produce a more humane economics and a more sensible society. He also proposes an economics and a technology which is appropriate to the neighborhoods and villages around the globe.

Robert Theobald's *An Alternative Future for America's Third Century* also focuses upon social and economic changes to which we have been unable to adjust or to direct. While previous editions of *An Alternative Future* attempted "to show that our present system is not viable" this new volume seeks, instead, "to challenge citizens to become involved in creating a more human future."

Theobald describes our society as one in which there is an overload of information communicated; the educational system is obsolete; our wasteful consumption of energy is only beginning to be challenged; our socioeconomic system is dependent upon ever greater increases in consumption; and the turn towards violence increases the risk of fascism. But there is also a positive side to our situation:

For the first time in several decades, most Americans do not believe that additional government programs are the answer to all our ills. People are looking for ways to return power and responsibility to the individual, the family, the group, and the community.

What is required, among other solutions, is development of an ethic of "enoughness" which recognizes that having and consuming more than a healthy amount of resources "is as life-impeding as having too little." What is required is greater citizen participation in policy-making. Theobald argues for "increased public participation based on each person's competence and knowledge." Every citizen need not be consulted on every question but only in those areas which he or she cares about and in which he or she is competent. In this principle of participation Theobald challenges the assumption of

most of the neighborhood movement that all citizens should participate or, at least, be truly represented in public policy-making. Yet, obviously, the converse of Theobald's assertion is not true. Citizens should not be consulted on issues about which they know nothing and about which they could care less.

Theobald, like Stavrianos, tries to place our current predicament in perspective. He argues that "the second Copernican revolution... destroyed the static certainties of Newtonian physics and created a fluid interdependent world." What we must do now is create "a new style of culture suitable to our new scientific understandings." But such a transformation within the same society is without parallel in previous human history. All other societies whose "dominant knowledge paradigm" changed failed to make the transition and the torch of civilization passed to other peoples remote from the previous centers of power.

An Alternative Future is filled with specific proposals as well as general analyses. One of the steps which is advocated is adoption of guaranteed income both for reasons of economic justice and as a practical mechanism to release the creative effort needed to adjust to our changed society:

With guaranteed income we anticipate the organization of groups called consentives, where those living on the guaranteed income would get together to create the new styles of goods and services which we shall need in a world where consumption is not our primary goal.

Theobald offers many other proposals in these essays including alternative scenarios of the future, techniques to help individuals think about the future they would like to see achieved, and analyses of specific topics like the need and functions of leadership in this new society. What is important about this book is not any single vision of the future as much as suggestions about how we in the neighborhood movement might better understand the future for which we are struggling, too often unconsciously. Readers can easily enough dispute Theobald's prescriptions. With more thought and study they may be able to dispute his analysis of our society although on this he is on firmer ground. But they can not but be grateful for his challenge to them to think more carefully about the future and for some of the concepts and techniques which he offers.

All of which is to say these three books aren't perfect. Each has its flaws. The most hopeful thing is that they are being written and intellectuals from various disciplines are beginning to take note of the changes going on in our society which spell hope rather than doom. Those of us in the movement for change would be well advised to become familiar with this literature and to adopt a perspective informed by authors such as these.

TWO APPROACHES *continued from page 39*

funding as public and corporation grants become less available. Last year the Coalition held a successful benefit at Playboy Towers and sponsored luncheons with small groups to solicit contributions. Programs absorb 98% of the budget while the staff puts in fifty to sixty hours a week and has been known to go two to three months without a paycheck.

The Coalition's primary goal has been to solve school problems by increasing parent involvement and providing resources. The danger has been in overextending its programs and its lack of direction. An assessment by the American Friends Service Committee helped LVSC to clarify its goals and structure. The trend away from confrontation toward concrete, cooperative services is reflected in Nancy Rodenski's comment that the Coalition has never won any real battles. "I don't think you ever win a battle. We've changed a lot of attitudes. That doesn't mean winning battles. It means compromise. It means you have to see both sides. Victory means that we're actually in a school and teachers are using our ideas. That's a victory in communication."

Education Resource Center

Unlike the Coalition, which mushroomed out of the activity of dozens of individuals, the Education Resources Center was a collaborative venture of many local groups including the Lake View Latin American Coalition, Lakeview Schools Coalition, the Lakeview Citizens Council, and the District 3 Superintendent's Office. The Center's style is very non-political. Its uniqueness is in pulling parents and teachers together in a warm, friendly environment. From the beginning its goals have been specific and contained. It is a resource facility where teachers and parents from public and private schools come together to share ideas and develop new materials.

In November, 1975 the Center was opened with donations of paint, carpets, equipment, and labor and over \$1500 raised by running a "Learning Fair," a smorgasbord of learning activities. The Fair attracted 750 participants, gaining publicity as well as potential members and revenue. Last fall, the second Learning Fair was another successful community event.

The Center is a brightly decorated workshop housing tools, books, equipment, and a variety of materials. One of the most successful components of the Center is its recycle program. For \$2.50, a visitor can buy a shopping bag full of carpet scraps, buttons, tubing, plastic foam, plexiglass and many

other materials. Books, models, and workshops at the Center give plenty of direction for their creative use. The recycle program, coordinated by Dorothy Hillger from Chicago's Art Institute, is a source of steady income. Last year, a recycle workshop brought coordinators of programs together from across the country to pool their ideas.

In two years, the Center staff has grown to six assisted by four senior citizens sponsored by CETA who coordinate files, membership, and the curriculum library and also volunteers from Threshold, a local mental health facility.

The staff directs workshops and seminars and brings in other qualified leaders. Some workshops like cardboard carpentry, bookbinding, and batik offer practical skills; others like parent-teacher effectiveness training have greater depth. A course in teaching bilingual students explains concrete ways of avoiding language confusion of Spanish and English for students. A course in Laubach reading techniques trains volunteers in teaching reading to children and adults on a one-to-one basis. Northeastern Illinois University and the University of Chicago have granted credit for some of the seminars at the Center.

This fall, ERC, in conjunction with other groups, may conduct a series of forums on desegregation. Though the Center rejects any political role. "We wouldn't ignore desegregation," says ERC Director Diane Sautter. "We will try to provide resources for researching and evaluating and a place for dialogue."

ERC sees part of its role as reaching into the community, particularly to its many ethnic groups. Though its atmosphere is very informal, the majority of people who use Center services are professionals, and it does have a professional tone which frightens some people. In order to be more accessible, particularly to lower-income people, a community liaison staff position has been created. The liaison will seek out parents from community ethnic groups to help them feel more comfortable and become more involved and will direct bilingual programs at the Center.

Last year, the Center created an Ethnic Advisory Council with representatives from Latino, Native American, Korean, and Japanese-American groups who provide resources and direction for the Center's ethnic study program (recently awarded an HEW grant).

Outreach also takes ERC's curriculum coordinator, Margo Crawford, into local schools. When invited by a teacher, Margo spends a few visits ob-

serving the teacher's needs. Then together they decide a strategy to meet those needs. Margo may bring in materials, demonstrate their use with the class, help the teacher design materials or build a classroom learning center.

The group responsible for ERC is the thirty-member board of directors. They are expected to contribute at least two hours a week working in the Center or on special projects and are responsible for raising the Center's \$96,950 budget. Grants from CETA (\$13,500) and foundations like Continental Bank, Chicago Community Trust and the Sulzer Foundation provide almost 60% of the budget. The Center has requested some funding from the Board of Education and solicits contributions and services from local business and individual supporters. They have also raised \$1700 each month through recycle sales, workshop fees, contractual services, and memberships. A ten-dollar fee entitles the 425 members to workshop discounts, library loans, and a monthly newsletter. ERC believes that people who use their services should contribute in some way to the Center.

Both ERC and the Schools Coalition have expanded beyond the immediate community in which they began. LVSC has defined specific limits within the mid-north area of Chicago and ERC has described its service area more generally as the north side. Both share the same concern for fundamental change in the classroom and greater parent participation. Though serving the same general area with the same goals, tension separates them because of early struggles for control of the Coalition. That tension was rekindled by rival claims for credit in establishing the Resource Center.

Although LVSC started with a strong approach to confront the education bureaucracy, it has recognized the need for cooperative methods and concrete services that characterize the ERC. The efforts of both organizations now often parallel one another. Their individual successes and expansion indicates there is room for and need for the services these community-based groups bring to education in Chicago. They demonstrate that citizens are not helpless even when facing the massive public school bureaucracy, but that dedication, flexibility, and creativity are required to be effective.

Barbara Sullivan is a Dominican sister, former teacher for 15 years in elementary and secondary parochial schools in New York and Boston, and high school principal in Watertown, Massachusetts.

Shame, morality and obscenity

LAWRENCE FREEDMAN

Some years ago, a colleague of mine, a distinguished psychiatrist who was keenly concerned with people in difficulty with the law, gave the Rorschach test to several men who had been accused of sexual misbehaviour. This test, a series of randomly produced ink blots or blotches which have no intended conformation, is used to elicit projective, subjective perceptions from its subjects. As my friend was leaving, he passed the cell of the first man to whom he had shown the ink blots. The inmate called out, "Say, doc, do you have time to show me any more of those dirty pictures?"

This story, which may be apocryphal, illustrates in slightly exaggerated form the extraordinary difficulty of defining such terms as obscenity and pornography, particularly within a legal framework.

The word obscenity, like the work immorality, is a term which has been co-opted by sexuality. By strict definition, morality refers to virtues, just as immorality refers to vices. Nevertheless, in both colloquial connotation and professional denotation, these words refer to socially approved or socially condemned sexual behaviours, attitudes, or ideas.

Obscenity may appear in gesture, language, or other forms of communication whose content offends sexual convention through what is viewed, and condemned, as public depiction of reproductive and excretory — cloacal functions. Yet obscenity varies according to time, place, convention and culture. The effort to define it by legislation or by judicial decision has been confused, contradictory, and circular.

And like 'obscenity,' 'indecent' varies between cultures and through time. When I was a boy on the beaches of New England, I was morally and legally 'indecent' if my chest was exposed. Females were banished or worse if any part of their abdomens could be seen. Since that time, "indecent public display" has tolerated larger expanses of visible skin and legal sanctions have shrunk to more accurately measurable degrees. It is now possible to establish with precision a community's mores toward nudity: simply measure the rate of shrinkage of swimming attire over time, in those communities where there is something left to measure!

One of the first modern cases which attracted national interest in the definition of obscenity was the attempt to censor the book *Forever Amber*, "banned" as the phrase used to go, "in Boston." It was an enormous, rowdy, bawdy historical novel. There were lots of fights by sea and by land, but this didn't bother the censors. The heroine, with astonishing alacrity, seemed to end

up in bed with an astonishing number of men, most often those on the winning side. It may have been this unladylike athleticism on the part of the young woman — her hopping from bed to bed — that aroused the puritanical ire of the citizens of Boston, since there were only fragmentary descriptions of what she did when ensconced there.

Nevertheless, in 1948 a suit was brought against the book by the Attorney General of the State of Massachusetts. A psychiatrist friend of mine testified as an expert for the publisher. This friend, trained in Vienna, found little that was obscene in the novel. There were, he said, descriptions of partial undress, but the same was true of the Sears and Roebuck catalogue. There are persons who became erotically excited by pictures of ladies underclothes advertised for sale, he explained.

But the psychiatrist representing the "people" of Massachusetts was an elderly Yankee, dignified, distinguished, and straight-forward: he asserted that the book was obscene. In cross-examination he was asked whether he had selected certain erotic-sounding passages out of context; to which that patrician doctor naughtily replied, "I was hired to find dirt — and I found dirt."

Forever Amber was in 1948 held by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts to be free of illegal obscenity. That same year, however, Lillian Smith's *Strange Fruit*, a sensitive analysis and condemnation of the inequities of racial relations, was found "obscene," perhaps because the author alluded to the hypocrisy of interracial sexual mores and taboos.

Another important case in the history of the obscenity charge was the effort by the United States government to prevent the entrance of James Joyce's novel, *Ulysses*, into this country. Historically, it was the fear of obscene materials crossing the borders from foreign lands, rather than the threat of local products, that provoked the earliest legal restrictions in England and then in the United States. The legal inference seemed to be that impurity was a failing of foreigners. Historical medical etymology reflects this bias. Syphilis was in England called 'the French Disease'; in France, 'the Spanish Disease'. Native North Americans could make no such subtle distinctions: venereal disease arrived in the New World with Europeans of all nationalities.

In the case of *Ulysses*, the appellate court ruled in favor of admitting the book. Judge Woolsey wrote in that famous decision: "The words which are criticized are old Saxon words known to almost all men, and, I venture, to many women, and are such

words as would be naturally and habitually used, I believe, by the types of folk whose life, physical and mental, Joyce is seeking to describe. In respect to the recurrent emergence of the theme of sex in the minds of his characters, it must always be remembered that his locale was Celtic and his season spring."

Judge Learned Hand suggested, in the face of the extraordinary difficulty of making such judgments on the ambiguous concept of 'obscenity,' that it, like the charge of 'negligence,' be left to the determination, in any specific case, of a local jury which would ascertain the particular facts and more significantly, would reflect the moral standards of its own community.

It is this solution to which the Supreme Court has now turned in its most recent decisions. Otherwise, the highest court's progress toward resolving the tension between constitutional safeguards and social realities has been vacillatory and inconsistent.

The Roth case was brought before the same appellate court as had 'tried' *Ulysses*. The decision was written by Judge Jerome Frank, then a colleague and friend of mine at the Yale Law School; we discussed it often. It contains what is perhaps the most knowledgeable summary of the dilemma that faced the courts in attempting to do justice both to their sense of the psychological needs of the reading and viewing public, while maintaining the protections of the law for freedom of expression. Speaking for his brothers in the appellate court of which he was a part, Frank essentially upheld the findings of the lower court, which were punitive towards the publishers and sellers, but he appealed, however obliquely, to the Supreme Court to settle the question as best it could. The Supreme Court for its part put off making a constitutional issue of such cases as it granted certiorari. x

In a very peculiar decision taken against a writer and publisher named Ginzberg, the Court upheld the conviction and sentence against him for the publication of a magazine called *Eros*, not because of its content, which even in those days was considered rather mild stuff, but because of his advertising techniques, which the Court said were clearly intended to pander to the salacious tastes of its readers. Ginzberg, after failing to obtain permission to mail his advertising from a town called Intercourse, Pennsylvania, used Middlesex, New Jersey as his postmark. He was sentenced to five years in prison.

Between 1952 and 1962, I served as a consultant to the American Law Institute in the preparation of its Model Penal Code.

Part of that code concerned itself with obscenity, pornography, and with sexual crimes in general. It removed criminal sanctions against sexual relationships between consenting adults in private, whether they were married or not, whether they were homosexual or heterosexual. That Code became the Illinois State Criminal Code. Its statute on pornography was adopted by the City of Chicago as its operative law.

The Illinois Revised Statutes prohibit "obscene" performances. In an obvious effort to conform to the constitutional limitations the Legislature has carefully defined "obscene" as follows:

"A thing is obscene if, considered as a whole, its predominant appeal is to prurient interest, that is, a shameful or morbid interest in nudity, sex or excretion, and if it goes substantially beyond customary limits of candor in description or representation of such matters. A thing is obscene even though the obscenity is latent, as in the case of undeveloped photographs."

Under this law, a local publisher of a widely circulated magazine was arrested for eight pages in one issue which were cited for obscenity. These contained pictures of Ms. Jayne Mansfield showing her back, breasts, buttocks, and legs, but covering her pubis. This magazine had displayed acres of female anatomy for many months. In these controversial pictures, however, there was also a man, himself fully dressed. The pictures were intended to publicize a forthcoming movie, in which the character of a husband — i.e., the man in the photographs — was a writer of comedy who concentrated so desperately on making his wife laugh at his jokes that he was oblivious to her charms and blandishments. It was this case which Maurice Rosenfeld, Robert Ming, and Professor Harry Kalven undertook to defend. It was also they who had successfully defended the late satiric comic Lenny Bruce when he was arrested in Chicago under similar "obscenity" charges for public performances in nightclubs.

Bruce, as most people know, died unhappily at an early age from what was described as an overdose of narcotics in his home in California; whether deliberate, or accidental, is forever uncertain. Ms. Mansfield died no less tragically when the car in which she was being driven to a professional engagement ran into a truck and decapitated her. I allude to these seemingly irrelevant matters of drug usage and violent, if accidental, deaths deliberately, because they reflect, however obliquely, the confluence of nudity, sexuality, obscenity, pornography, and forms of

social pathology which significantly affect the confused attitude of the public, the courts, and the attorneys for the People and the legislators.

According to Kalven, ambiguity of two types clouds the meaning of the word 'obscenity' and obscures the relationship of obscenity to the protection of freedom of the press. The first is an ambiguity of definition. The second is an ambiguity of effect.

"The second group of constitutional doubts derived from the clear-and-present-danger test. Towards what dangers was obscenity legislation directed? Analysis reveals four possible evils:

1) the incitement to anti-social sexual conduct; 2) psychological excitement resulting from sexual imagery; 3) the arousing of feelings of disgust and revulsion; 4) the advocacy of improper sexual values.

All present difficulties. It is hard to see why the advocacy of improper sexual values should fare differently, as a constitutional matter, from any other exposition in the realm of ideas. Arousing disgust and revulsion in a voluntary audience seems and is impossibly trivial base for making speech a crime. The danger of incitement to anti-social conduct, the point at which judges Bok and Frank directed most of their fire, evaporates in the absence of any evidence to show a connection between the written word and overt sexual behaviour. There remains the evil of arousing sexual thoughts short of action. There is no doubt that the written word can excite the imagination. What puzzled Judge Bok and amused Judge Frank was the idea that the law could be so solemnly concerned with the sexual fantasies of the adult population."

On the other hand, the legislature has prescribed for "interpretation of Evidence" the following:

"Obscenity shall be judged with reference to ordinary adults, except that it shall be judged with reference to children or other specially susceptible audience if it appears from the character of the material or the circumstances of its dissemination to be specially designed for or directed to such an audience. In any prosecution for an offense under this Section evidence shall be admissible to show:

1) the character of the audience for which the material was designed or to which it was directed; 2) what

the predominant appeal of the material would be for ordinary adults or a special audience, and what effect, if any, it would probably have on the behaviour of such people; 3) the artistic, literary, scientific, educational, or other merits of the material, or absence thereof; 4) the degree, if any, of public acceptance of the material in this State; 5) appeal to the prurient interest, or obscene thereof, in advertising or other promotion of the material; 6) purpose of the author, creator, publisher, or disseminator."

* * *

I found myself intrigued by the last sentence of the obscenity statute: "A thing is obscene even though the obscenity is latent, as in undeveloped photographs." A mysterious, haunting concept for jurisprudence. A psycholegal revelation for psychoanalysis. Let us see how well we could answer — from scientific sources — the above six criteria for interpretation of evidence called for by the legislature: 1) The character of the character of the audience for which the material was designed or to which it was directed: UNKNOWN. 2) The predominant appeal of the material for ordinary adults or a special audience, and what effect, if any, it would probably have on the behaviour of such people: UNKNOWN. 3) The artistic, literary, scientific, educational, or other merits of the material, or absence thereof; BASED UPON EXPERT OPINIONS WHICH ARE NOTORIOUSLY WIDE-RANGING, EVEN CONFLICTING. 4) The degree, if any, of public acceptance of the material in this State: UNKNOWN. 5) Appeal to the prurient interest, or obscene thereof, in advertising or other promotion of this material: UNKNOWN. 6) Purpose of the author, creator, publisher, or disseminator: UNKNOWN.

Now, if the science of human behaviour cannot answer these questions, what does behavioral science have to offer to society in its search for an answer to the dilemma of obscenity?

We may reply to this challenge in various ways. On the one hand, perhaps it cannot and should not; obscenity and blasphemy have a common origin in religion, and we should now seek our answer in religion and morality, rather than science. Conversely, perhaps social science can and will answer these questions; there is a method to investigate each of them properly. But thirdly, when and if we do find the answers, the question itself may have disappeared.

Obscenity is rejected because it evokes shame, it disturbs, dishonors, disgraces, outrages our moral code. It shames us. But what is shame? It derives from secrecy, from hiding, from covering the basic sense is that of 'covering up.' In fact, its root is in the Latin 'causia,' meaning 'shut.'

On that New England beach, without my shirt, I was obscene.

Stripped of her clothes, Ms. Mansfield

was obscene.

In his satiric anger, so was Lenny Bruce.

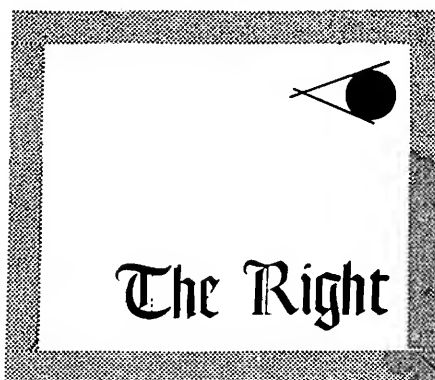
The Burger Supreme Court has attempted to resolve the confusion of social opprobrium, morality, and law by turning the problem back to local community. This abnegation towards realization of achieving standardization at a federal level in favor of fragmentation at a local level has resulted, as might have been predicted, in virtual anarchy of legal standards. No one, including the communities directly involved, has any verifiable information concerning what those standards are. Instead we have wildly different responses depending largely on the motivation and skill of prosecuting authorities. Few convictions have resulted. These almost unique events, their rare imposition of legal sanctions, have had two adverse affects.

First, it is inherently against the moral sense of the larger community to isolate a few scapegoats just as, for example, the rar-

ity of capital punishment has been viewed as "cruel and unusual punishment" because it has been imposed in such idiosyncratic and unpredictable fashion. Secondly, since the publications in this country are national in distribution, the effect of punishment imposed by small communities is functionally to provide it the role of censor over the entire country by sexually its most conservative jurisdictions.

The picture should be developed and looked at. We will gain, not lose. The best-kept secret is that the penalty of exposure is not sinfulness, but banality, not hedonistic euphoria, but anhedonistic apathy. Sexual apathy is the price of sexual license. Human misery is the cost of hiding human suffering and cant.

Fear of open or latent obscenity should develop into the search for human solutions not only of the mysteries of sex, but also of violence, and of greed.



ANTI-PANAMA PACT COALITION EFFECTIVE

As ultra conservatives launch a final attack on the proposed treaty on the Panama Canal, it has become evident that several key groups are tightening what has been a successful but fairly loose coalition, especially on issues before Congress.

The fight against "giving away" the Canal started years ago, reached an emotional pitch when Ronald Reagan seized on it in the 1976 campaign and is now about to boil rapidly.

Senators Strom Thurmond (R., S.C.) and Jesse Helms (R., N.C.) are leading the opponents in Congress, while Reagan has decided to maintain his militant position and well-heeled conservative groups are cranking up both their fund-raising machinery and their grassroots pressure techniques.

For example, the year-old Council for Inter-American Security mailed out an appeal for \$200,000 to affect Senators and said that it had arranged credit of \$200,000 to start the drive because President Carter might "ram" the treaty through "in the next two or three weeks." The letter was signed by Congressman George Hansen (R., Idaho), a conservative activist.

Incidentally, one of those attending was Paul Russo, who works at the Republican

National Committee for Charles Black, the new campaign director and a former right-wing activist. Russo has been assigned to work with such groups in general.

A pattern of coalition is emerging: A few leaders invite like-minded conservatives to an informal social meeting, unpublicized, to discuss an upcoming problem. There is no structure to the meetings, nor votes; but there is volunteering for assignments and discussion of possible allies.

AAUCG ATTACKS LABOR

U.S. Senator Jesse Helms (N.C.) continues to solicit funds and conduct a fake anti-union poll on behalf of "Americans Against Union Control of Government." In his latest appeal he specifically attacks U.S. House Bill 13 sponsored by Rep. William Clay (D., Mo.) which changes the definition of public employees. According to Helms this bill could be used to "force all our Soldiers, Airmen, and Marines into labor unions." The letter also attacks the national loyalty of labor and its leaders.

FUNDRAISERS—FOR WHOM?

Nine cents on the dollar — that's how much the New Right campaign committees actually turned over to their favored candidates in last year's Congressional elections. The three committees, the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress, the National Conservative Political Action Committee and the Gun Owners of America, spent \$6,384,214 through mid-October; only \$594,824 went to candidates. All the groups talked about the need to build toward the future as one rationale for the ridiculous level of overhead. A top beneficiary of this conservative money was Richard Viguerie, previously famed as the fund-raiser who put together George Wallace's direct-mail appeals. Viguerie received about \$3 million from the three groups in 1975-76 for consultant services and sale of mailing lists.